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LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

VOL. V.

Katharine Parr

Sixth Queen of Henry 8th

Published by Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street, 1842

LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

BY

AGNES STRICKLAND.

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Henry 8.th and his Family

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VOL. 5.

LONDON.

HENRY COLBURN, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1848.

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LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE NORMAN CONQUEST;

WITH

ANECDOTES OF THEIR COURTS,

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM

OFFICIAL RECORDS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,
PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC.

BY

AGNES STRICKLAND.

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In old historic rolls I opened."

BEAUMONT.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
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KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Katharine Parr the first Protestant queen of England—Her ancestry—Royal descent—Relationship to Henry VIII.—Her parents—Her birth at Kendal Castle—Death of sir Thomas Parr, her father—His will—Prudent conduct of lady Parr—Katharine's learned education—Her royal destiny predicted—Her dislike of needlework—Sought in marriage for the heir of lord Scroop—Her mother's letters—The treaty broken off—Katharine weds lord Borough—His family—Katharine a widow at fifteen—Her residence at Sizergh Castle with lady Strickland—The queen's chamber at Sizergh—Description of Katharine Parr's embroidery at Sizergh—She marries lord Latimer—Her rich dower—Her husband joins the pilgrimage of Grace—His peril—Katharine's influence with the king—She intercedes for her aunt's husband—Cromwell's disgrace attributable to Katharine Parr—Death of lord Latimer—Katharine a second time a widow—She embraces the reformed faith—Religious assemblies at her house—Courted by sir Thomas Seymour—Her attachment to Seymour—Compelled to relinquish him for the king—Her reluctance to the royal marriage—Cranmer's licence for king Henry's nuptials with Katharine Parr—She is married to the king at Hampton Court—Her attentions to her royal step-children—Presents to the princess Mary—Her friendship with Mary—Fondness of prince Edward for queen Katharine—His letters to her—Description of her queenly dress—Her miniature at Strawberry-hill—Her devotional writings—Henry's hopes of offspring by Katharine Parr—His regard for her—She is appointed queen-regent of England—Her autograph—Her government in king Henry's absence—Her order in council—Return of the king—Painting of the royal family group at Hampton Court, (see vignette.)

KATHARINE PARR was the first Protestant queen of England. She was the only one among the consorts of

Henry VIII. who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and imperilled her crown and life in support of her principles. The name of Katharine, which, from its Greek derivative, *Katharos*, signifies pure as a limpid stream, seems peculiarly suited to the characteristics of this illustrious lady; in whom we behold the protectress of Coverdale, the friend of Anne Askew, the learned and virtuous matron who directed the studies of lady Jane Grey, Edward VI., and queen Elizabeth, and who may, with truth, be called the nursing mother of the Reformation.

Katharine Parr was not only a queen of England, but an English queen. Although of ancient and even royal descent, she claimed, by birth, no higher rank than that of a private gentlewoman. Like Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, Katharine Parr was only the daughter of a knight; but her father, sir Thomas Parr, was of a more distinguished ancestry than either sir Thomas Boleyn or sir John Seymour. From the marriage of his Norman progenitor, Ivo de Tallebois, with Lucy, the sister of the renowned earls Morcar and Edwin, sir Thomas Parr inherited the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Ivo de Tallebois was the first baron of Kendal, and maintained the state of a petty sovereign in the north. His male line failing with William de Lancaster, the seventh in descent, the honours and estates of that mighty family passed to his sisters Helwise and Alice. Margaret, the elder coheiress of Helwise by Peter le Brus, married the younger son of Robert lord Roos, of Hamlake and Werks, by Isabel, daughter of Alexander II., king of Scotland. Their grandson, sir Thomas de Roos, married Katharine, the daughter of sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh Castle, Westmoreland. The fruit of this union was an only daughter, Elizabeth, who brought Kendal Castle and a rich inheritance into queen Katharine's

paternal house, by her marriage with sir William del Parr, knight. Sir William Parr, the grandson of this pair, was made knight of the Garter, and married Elizabeth, one of the coheiresses of the lord Fitzhugh, by Alice, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, and Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Alice Neville was sister to the king's great grandmother, Cicely Neville, duchess of York; and through this connexion Katharine Parr was fourth cousin to Henry VIII.[1]

From the elder coheiress of Fitzhugh, the patrimony of the Marmions, the ancient champions of England, was transmitted to sir Thomas Parr, father of queen Katharine. Her mother, Matilda, or, as she was commonly called, Maud Green, was daughter and coheiress of sir Thomas Green, of Boughton and Green's Norton, in the county of Northamptonshire. This lady was a descendant of the distinguished families of Talbot and Throckmorton. Her sister, Anne, wedded Sir Nicholas Vaux, afterwards created lord Vaux of Harrowden, and dying childless, the whole of the rich inheritance of the Greens of Boughton centred in Matilda.[2] At the age of thirteen, Matilda became the wife of sir Thomas Parr. This marriage took place in the year 1508. The date generally assigned for the birth of Katharine Parr is 1510; but the correspondence between her mother and lord Dacre, in the fifteenth year of Henry VIII., in which her age is specified to be *under* twelve,[3] will prove that she could not have been born till 1513. Her father, sir Thomas Parr, at that time held high offices at court, being master of the wards and comptroller of the household to Henry VIII. As a token of royal favour, we find

[1] Dugdale.
[2] Baker's Northamptonshire, corrected from Dugdale.
[3] Hopkinson's MSS. Whittaker's Richmondshire.

that the king presented him with a rich gold chain, value £140—a very large sum in those days.[1] Both sir Thomas and his lady were frequent residents in the court; but the child who was destined hereafter to share the throne of their royal master first saw the light at Kendal Castle, in Westmoreland, the time-honoured fortress which had been the hereditary seat of her ancestors from the days of its Norman founder, Ivo de Tallebois.

A crumbling relic of this stronghold of feudal greatness is still in existence, rising like a grey crown over the green hills of Kendal. It is situated on a lofty eminence, which commands a panoramic view of the town and the picturesque and ever verdant vale of the Kent, that clear and rapid stream, which, night and day sings an unwearied song, as it rushes over its rocky bed at the foot of the castle hill. The circular tower of the castle is the most considerable portion of the ruins; but there is a large enclosure of ivy-mantled walls remaining, with a few broken arches. These are now crowned with wild flowers, whose peaceful blossoms wave unnoted where the red cross banner of St. George once flaunted on tower and parapet of the sternly-guarded fortress, that for centuries was regarded as the most important defence of the town of Kendal and the adjacent country.

The warlike progenitors of Katharine had stern duties to perform at the period when the kings of Scotland held Cumberland of the English crown, and were perpetually harassing the northern counties with predatory expeditions. Before the auspicious era when the realms of England and Scotland were united under one sovereign, the lord of Kendal Castle, like his feudal neighbour of Sizergh, was compelled to furnish a numerous quota of men-at-arms for the service of the crown, and the protection of the border. The contingent con-

[1] See sir Thomas Parr's will in Testamenta Vetusta.

sisted of horse and foot, and, above all, of those bowmen, so renowned in border history and song—the Kendal archers. They are especially noted by the metrical chronicler of the battle of Flodden—

> "These are the bows of Kentdale bold,
> Who fierce will fight and never flee."

Dame Maud Parr evinced a courageous disposition in venturing to choose Kendal Castle for the place of her *accouchement*, at a time when the northern counties were menaced with an invasion from the puissance and flower of Scotland, headed by their king in person. Sir Thomas Parr was, however, compelled to be on duty there with his warlike meinè, in readiness either to attend the summons of the lord warden of the marches, or to hold the fortress for the defence of the town and neighbourhood; and his lady, instead of remaining in the metropolis, or seeking a safer abiding place at Green's Norton, her own patrimonial domain, decided on sharing her husband's perils in the north, and there gave birth to Katharine. They had two other children, William, their son and heir, afterwards created earl of Essex and marquis of Northampton, and Anne, the wife of William Herbert, the natural son of the earl of Pembroke, to which dignity he was himself raised by Edward VI.

Sir Thomas Parr died in the year 1517, leaving his three infant children to the guardianship of his faithful widow, who is said to have been a lady of great prudence and wisdom, with a discreet care for the main chance.

The will of sir Thomas Parr is dated Nov. 7th, the 9th of Henry VIII. He bequeathed his body to be interred in Blackfriars' church, London. All his manors, lands, and tenements, he gave to his wife, dame Maud, during her life. He willed his daughters, Katharine and Anne, to have eight hundred pounds between them, as

marriage portions, except they proved to be his heirs or his son's heirs, in which case that sum was to be laid out in copes and vestments, and given to the monks of Clairveaux, with a hundred pounds bestowed on the chantry of Kendal. He willed his son William to have his great chain, worth one hundred and forty pounds, which the king's grace gave him. He made Maud, his wife, and Dr. Tunstall, Master of the Rolls, his executors.

Four hundred pounds, Katharine's moiety of the sum provided by her father for the nuptial portions of herself and her sister, would be scarcely equal to two thousand pounds in these days, and seems but an inadequate dowry for the daughters of parents so richly endowed with the gifts of fortune as sir Thomas and lady Parr. It was, however, all that was accorded to her who was hereafter to contract matrimony with the sovereign of the realm.

Sir Thomas Parr died in London, on the 11th of November, four days after the date of his will, in the parish of the Blackfriars, and there can be no doubt but he was interred in that church, according to his own request; yet, as lately as the year 1628, there is record of a tomb, bearing his effigies, name, and arms, in the chapel or family burying-place of the Parrs,[1] in the south choir of Kendal church.

[1] This monument is thus described in Dr. Whittaker's History of Richmondshire:—

"On a tomb a man in armour kneeling, on his breast two bars argent, within a bordure sable, for Parr, on his wife's breast quartering Greene and Mapleloft, and about it was written,

"'Pray for the soul of Thomas Parr, knight, squire of the king's body, Henry 8th, master of his wards, who deceased the 11th day of Nov., in the 9th year of our said sovereign lord, at London, ... in the .... Fryers, as his tomb doth record.'

"In the window over this tomb was emblazoned the arms of Katharine's ancestor, sir William Parr, who married the heiress of Roos. The large black marble tomb still remaining in the Parr chapel is supposed to

It has been generally said, that Katharine Parr received a learned education from her father; but as she was only in her fifth year when he died, it must have been to the maternal wisdom of lady Parr that she was indebted for those mental acquirements which so eminently fitted her to adorn the exalted station to which she was afterwards raised. Katharine was gifted by nature with fine talents, and these were improved by the advantages of careful cultivation. She both read and wrote Latin with facility, possessed some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in modern languages. How perfect a mistress she was of her own, the elegance and beauty of her devotional writings are a standing monument.

"I have met with a passage concerning this queen," says Strype, "in the margin of Bale's Centuries, in possession of a late friend of mine, Dr. Sampson, which shewed the greatness of her mind and the quickness of her wit, while she was yet a young child. Somebody skilled in prognostication, casting her nativity, said that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house. This she heard and took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would reply—

"'My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, and not spindles and needles."[1]

This striking incident affords one among many instances in which the prediction of a brilliant destiny has

cover the remains of her grandfather, Sir William Parr, K.G., for it bears the paternal shield of Parr, quartered with Roos, Brus, and Fitzhugh, encircled with the garter.

"The ladies whose arms are engraven on this monument were all heiresses; therefore the property accumulated by these marriages of the heads of the family of Parr must have been considerable."

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. ii., part 1, p. 206.

insured its own fulfilment, by its powerful influence on an energetic mind. It is also an exemplification at how precocious an age the germ of ambition may take root in the human heart. But, however disposed the little Katharine might have been to dispense with the performance of her tasks, under the idea of queening it hereafter, lady Parr was too wise a parent to allow vain dreams of royalty to unfit her child for the duties of the station of life in which she was born; and notwithstanding Katharine's early repugnance to touch a needle, her skill and industry in its use became so remarkable, that there are specimens of her embroidery at Sizergh Castle, which could scarcely have been surpassed by the far-famed stitcheries of the sisters of king Athelstan.

Dame Maud Parr proved herself well worthy of the confidence her husband had reposed in her, when he endowed her with a life interest in his large possessions. Though she had scarcely completed her twenty-second year at the time of his death, she never entered into a second marriage, but devoted herself entirely to the superintendence of her children's education, and the improvement of their patrimony. In the year 1524, she entered into a negotiation with her kinsman, lord Dacre, for a marriage between his grandson, the heir of lord Scroop, and her daughter Katharine, of which the particulars may be learned from some very curious letters preserved among the Scroop MSS.[1] The first is from dame Maude Parr to the lord Dacre, and refers to a personal conference she had had with his lordship at Greenwich, on the subject of this alliance:—

"Most honourable and my very good lord,

"I heartily commend me to you. Whereas it pleased you at your last being here to take pains in the matter in consideration of marriage

[1] Quoted in Whittaker's History of Richmondshire.

between the lord Scroop's son and my daughter Katharine, for the which I heartily thank you, at which time I thought the matter in good furtherance. Howbeit, I perceive that my lord Scroop is not agreeable to that consideration. The jointure is little for 1100 marks, which I will not pass, and my said lord will not repay after marriage had; and 200 marks must needs be repaid if my daughter Katharine dies before the age of sixteen, or else I should break Master Parr's will, which I should be loth to do, and there can be no marriage until my lord's son (lord Scroop) comes to the age of thirteen, and my daughter to the age of twelve, before which time, if the marriage should take none effect, or be dissolved either by death, wardship, disagreement, or otherwise, which may be before that time notwithstanding marriage solemnized, repayment must needs be had of the whole, or else I might fortune to pay my money for nothing. The conversation I had with you at Greenwich, was that I was to pay at desire 1100 marks, 100 on hand—and 100 every year, which is as much as I can spare, as you know, and for that my daughter Katharine is to have 100 marks jointure, whereof I am to have 50 marks for her finding till they live together, and then they are to have the whole 100 marks, and repayment to be had if the marriage took not effect. My lord, it might please you to take so much pain as to help to conclude this matter, if it will be, and if you see any defect on my part, it shall be ordered as ye deem good, as knoweth Jesu, who preserve your good lordship.

"Written at the Rye, the 13 day of July,

"Your cousin, MAUD PARR."

Lord Scroop of Bolton Castle did not choose to submit to the refunding part of the clause, and was unwilling to allow more than forty marks per annum for the finding of the young lady till the heir of Scroop came to the age of eighteen.

Lord Dacre, after some inconsequential letters between him and dame Maud, proved his sincerity in the promotion of the wedlock by the following pithy arguments contained in an epistle to lord Scroop, his son-in-law:—

"My lord,

"Your son and heir is the greatest jewel that ye can have, seeing he must represent your own person after your death, unto whom I pray God grant many long years. And if ye be disposed to marry him, I cannot see, without you marry him to an heir of land (which would be

right costly[1]), that ye can marry him to so good a stock as my lady Parr, for divers considerations—first, in remembering the wisdom of my said lady, and the good, wise stock of the Greens, whereof she is coming, and also of the wise stock of the Parrs, of Kendale, for all wise men do look when they do marry their child, to the wisdom of the blood they do marry with. I speak not of the possibility of the lady Parr's daughter Katharine, who has but one child[2] between her and 800 marks yearly to inherit thereof.

"My lord, the demands you have and my lady's demands are so far asunder, that it is impossible ye can ever agree. I think it is not convenient nor profitable that so large a sum as 100 marks should go yearly out of your land to so young a person as my lady's eldest daughter Katharine, if it fortune, as God defend, that your said son and mine die. Also, I think it good (but I would not have it comprised in the covenant), that during the time of three years, that he should be with my said lady Parr, if she keep her widowhood, and ye to find him clothing and a servant to wait upon him, and she to find him meat and drink, for I assure you he might learn with her as well as in any place that I know, as well nurture as French and other languages, which *me seems* were a commodious thing for him.

"At Morpeth, 17 day of December, 15 year Henry 8th."

These letters certify us that Katharine Parr was under twelve years of age in the year 1524; she could not, therefore, have been born *before* 1513. We also learn that lord Dacre was anxious that his youthful grandson should participate in the advantages of the liberal education lady Parr was bestowing on her children, and that he placed due importance on the fact that the lady came of a family celebrated for sound sense and good conduct, a point little regarded now in the marriages of the heirs of an illustrious line. Lady Parr and all her lineage had a great reputation for wisdom, it seems; but the wisdom of this world formed so prominent a feature in the matrimonial bargain the sagacious widow and the

[1] The consent of parents or guardians must have been bought. It was a common case in that age for fathers and mothers to sell their consent to the marriage of their heirs.

[2] Her brother, afterwards Marquis of Northampton; in fact, the youngest sister, Anne Parr, inherited the Parr estate.

wary lord Scroop were attempting to drive in behalf of their children, that the affair came to nothing.

Lord Dacre tells lady Parr, "that lord Scroop must needs have money, and he has nothing whereof to make it but the marriage of his said son;" and dame Maud, in a letter from the court of Greenwich, dated the 15th of the following March, laments to my lord Dacre that the custom of her country and the advice of her friends will not permit her to submit to lord Scroop's way of driving a bargain.

Lord Dacre, who seems some degrees less acquisitive than his son and the lady Parr, replies:—

"Madam,

"For my part, I am sorry that ye be thus converted in this matter, seeing the labour I have had in it, which was most for the strength of my friendship for my cousin Katharine, your daughter, assuring you that ye shall not marry Katharine in any place that be so good and comfortable to my said cousin, your daughter. And concerning my lord Scroop's demands, he *demandit* nothing but that ye were content to give, which was 1100 marks. And concerning his offer which was 100 marks jointure, it is not far from the custom of the country; for from the highest to the lowest, it is the custom to give for every 100 marks of dower, ten marks jointure.

"But finally, madame, seeing ye are thus minded (whereat I am sorry, as nature constraineth me to be), as it doth please you in this business, so it shall please me. And thus heartily fare ye well.

"At Morpeth, 25th day of May, 16 anno."

Thus ended the abortive matrimonial treaty for the union of Katharine Parr and the heir of Scroop, who was her kinsman by the maternal connexion of both with the great northern family of Dacre. Katharine must have been still of very tender age when she was given in marriage to her first husband, Edward, lord Borough of Gainsborough,[1] a mature widower, with chil-

[1] This nobleman was the second peer of the family of Borough, anciently written de Burgh. He was of the same lineage as the famous Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent and justiciary of England, the favourite of Henry III. His father, Sir Thomas Borough, was made knight of the

dren who had arrived at man's estate. Henry, the second of these sons, after his father's marriage with Katharine Parr, espoused her friend and kinswoman, Katharine Neville, the widow of sir Walter Strickland, of Sizergh;[1] and this lady, though only twenty-nine at the time of their union, was fourteen years older than her husband's stepmother.

The principal family seat of Katharine's first husband was his manor-house of Gainsborough, situated about seventeen miles from Lincoln, and here, no doubt, he resided with his young bride. His father had expended considerable sums in enlarging and improving this mansion, which was sold a century afterwards by one of his descendants to a wealthy London citizen. Lord Borough had a fine mansion at Catterick, in Yorkshire, and probably at Newark, likewise, where his arms, impaled with those of his first wife, Alice Cobham, were painted on a window which his father presented to the parish church.

In Gainsborough church, on the tomb of the first lord Borough, father to Katharine Parr's husband, the arms

Garter at the coronation of Henry VII. He was afterwards called to the peerage by the title of lord Borough of Gainsborough; and Edward, the husband of Katharine, succeeded his father in the year 1495-6. He had married Anne, the daughter and heiress of sir Thomas Cobham, of Sterborough, Kent, by whom he had a family before he succeeded to his father's honours, for his eldest son is mentioned in the first lord Borough's will. That son was probably as old as the mother of Katharine Parr. By his mother, Alianor, the daughter of lord Roos of Hamlake, and the daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, he was distantly related to the family of Parr; and by the second marriage of his grandmother, Alice Beauchamp, with Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerset, he was allied to the royal family.

[1] Catharine Neville was the co-heiress of sir Ralph Neville, of Thornton Briggs, in Yorkshire. She married sir Walter Strickland, who died 19th year of Henry VIII., January, 1527; and lady Strickland married, the *year after*, 1528, to Henry Borough, entailing her inheritance of Thornton Briggs on her only son, Walter Strickland. She afterwards married William Knyvet. She was twenty-two years old in 1521, when Katharine Parr was about eight.—Plumpton Papers, 260. Strickland Family Papers, third folio, Sizergh Castle.

of Borough were quartered with Tallebois, Marmion, and Fitzhugh,[1] which afford sufficient proof of the ancestral connexion of this nobleman with the Parrs. He appears to have been related to Katharine somewhere about the fourth degree. He died in 1528-9.[2] Katharine, therefore, could not have exceeded her fifteenth year at the period of her first widowhood. She had no children by lord Borough. Soon after the death of her husband, Katharine was bereaved of her last surviving parent. From a passage in the will of lady Parr, it appears as if that lady had sacrificed the interests of her daughter in order to purchase a marriage with a kinswoman of the sovereign for her son, sir William Parr. This strange document, which is utterly devoid of perspicuity and common sense, commences thus :—

"Dame Maud Parr, widow, late wife of sir Thomas Parr, deceased 20th of May, 21st Henry VIII., 1529. My body to be buried in the church of the Blackfriars, London. Whereas I have indebted myself for the preferment of my son and heir, William Parr, as well to the king for the marriage of my said son, as to my lord of Essex for the marriage of my lady Bourchier, daughter and heir apparent to the said earl, Ann, my daughter, sir William Parr, knt., my brother, Katharine Borough, my daughter, Thomas Pickering, esq., my cousin, and steward of my house."[3]

Great difficulties were probably encountered by the executors of lady Parr's will, as it was not proved till December 14th, 1531, more than two years after her death. Like many of the marriages based on parental pride and avarice, the union of Katharine's brother with the heiress of the royally descended and wealthy house of Bourchier, proved a source of guilt and misery to both parties. The young lady Parr was the sole descendant

[1] Halle's MSS., British Museum.

[2] His son and heir, Thomas, third lord Borough, received summons to attend parliament, 3rd Nov., 21 Henry VIII.

[3] Testamenta Vetusta.

of Isabel Plantagenet, sister to the king's great grandfather, Richard, duke of York.

This alliance increased the previous family connexion of the Parrs with the sovereign's lineage on the female side. Some degree of friendly intercourse appears to have been kept up between the king and his cousin the young lady Parr; and we observe that, in the year 1530, she sent him a present of a coat of Kendal cloth.[1] Both the brother and the uncle of Katharine were now attached to the royal household, but many reasons lead us to suppose that Katharine became an inmate of Sizergh Castle about this period. She was a lovely, noble, and wealthy widow, in her sixteenth year, when deprived of the protection of her last surviving parent. Her only near female relations were an unmarried sister younger than herself, and her aunt, lady Throckmorton, who resided in a distant county. As heiress presumptive to her brother William, it was desirable to remain in the vicinity of Kendal Castle, and the family estates in that neighbourhood; therefore the most prudent and natural thing she could do was to take up her abode with her kinswoman and friend, lady Strickland. That lady, though she had, by her marriage with Katharine's step-son, Henry Borough, become her daughter-in-law, was quite old enough to afford matronly countenance to the youthful widow of lord Borough, whom, according to the quaint custom of the time, she called "her good mother."

Katharine Parr and lady Strickland were alike descended from the Nevilles, of Raby; and sir Walter Strickland, the deceased husband of the latter, was also a relative of the Parrs; and as lady Strickland held of the crown the wardship of her son, young Walter Strickland's person and estates, she remained mistress of

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.

Sizergh Castle, even after her marriage with Henry Borough.[1]

At no other period of her life than the interval between her mother's death and her own marriage with Neville, lord Latimer, could Katharine Parr have found leisure to embroider the magnificent counterpane and toilet-cover, which are proudly exhibited at Sizergh Castle as trophies of her industry, having been worked by her own hands during a visit to her kinsfolk there.

As the ornamental labours of the needle have become once more a source of domestic enjoyment to the ladies of England, and even the lords of the creation appear to derive some pleasure, as lookers-on, in tracing the progress of their fair friends at the embroidering-frame, a brief description of these beautiful and well preserved specimens of Katharine Parr's proficiency in that accomplishment may not be displeasing.

The material on which both counterpane and toilet-cover are worked is the richest white satin, of a fabric with which the production of no modern loom can vie. The centre of the pattern is a medallion, surrounded with a wreath of natural flowers wrought in twisted silks and bullion. A spread eagle, in bold relief, gorged with the imperial crown, forms the middle. At each corner is a lively heraldic monster of the dragon class, glowing with purple, crimson, and gold. The field is gaily beset with large flowers in gorgeous colours, highly embossed and enriched with threads of gold.

The toilette is *ensuite*, but of a smaller pattern. The lapse of three centuries has scarcely diminished the brilliancy of the colours, or tarnished the bullion; nor is the purity of the satin sullied, though both these queenly relics have been used, on state occasions, by the family in

[1] Strickland Papers at Sizergh Castle, folio 3.

whose possession they have remained as precious heir-looms and memorials of their ancestral connexion with queen Katharine Parr. The apartment which Katharine occupied in Sizergh Castle is still called "the Queen's Room." It is a fine state chamber in that ancient portion of the castle, the Deincourt tower. It opens through the drawing-room, and is pannelled with richly-carved black oak, which is covered with tapestry of great beauty. The designs represent hunting in all its gradations, from a fox-chase up to a lion-hunt, varied with delineations of trees and flowers, and surrounded with a very unique border, in which young tigers are fighting and brandishing their claws at each other in the manner of enraged kittens. The most splendid patterns for modern needle-work might be taken from these spirited devices. Over the lofty carved chimney-piece are the arms of England and France, supported between the lion and the Tudor dragon, with the motto "*Vivat Regina;*" the date, 1569, proves they were put up some years after the death of Katharine Parr, though doubtless intended to commemorate the fact that this apartment was once honoured by her use.[1] The bed, with its hangings of costly crimson damask, is shewn as the veritable one in which she reposed, but the fashion of the bedstead is too modern to favour the tradition, which we think more probably belongs to one of the elaborately-carved and canopied oaken bedsteads coeval with the days of the Plantagenets, which are to be seen in other chambers of this venerable mansion.

How long Katharine continued the widow of lord Borough is uncertain, but she was probably under twenty

[1] The arms of Deincourt, quartering Strickland, Roos, and Parr, are painted in the upper part of the antique window of the apartment in Sizergh Castle, called the inlaid chamber, which, from that circumstance, has been mistaken for the queen's room by Mr. Allom, in his Beauties of Westmoreland.

years of age when she became, for the second time, the wife of a mature widower, and again undertook the office of a step-mother. It is not unlikely that her residence at Sizergh Castle might lead to her marriage with John Neville, lord Latimer, as lady Strickland was a Neville, of Thornton Briggs, and would naturally afford her kinsman every facility for his courtship to their fair cousin. Lord Latimer was related to Katharine in about the same degree as her first husband, lord Borough.[1] The date of her marriage with this nobleman is not known. He had been previously married twice; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of sir Richard Musgrave, who died without issue;[2] secondly, to Dorothy, daughter of sir George de Vere, and sister and co-heiress to John de Vere, fourteenth earl of Oxford, by whom he had two children, John and Margaret.[3] The second lady Latimer died in 1526-7.

After Katharine became the wife of lord Latimer, she chiefly resided with him and his family at his stately mansion of Snape Hall, in Yorkshire, which is thus described by Leland:—"Snape, a goodly castel in a valley belonging to the lord Latimer, with two or three good parks well wooded about it. It is his chief house, and standeth about two miles from Great Tanfield." The

[1] The maternal ancestors of Katharine's second husband were the Latimers, lords of Corby and Shenstone, afterwards of Braybrooke and Danby. The heiress of this family marrying John lord Neville, of Raby and Middleham, became the mother of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, whose fifth son by Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took the title of lord Latimer, and married the third daughter and co-heiress of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. From this pair John Neville, lord Latimer, Katharine's husband, was the fourth in descent. He was the eldest son of a family of thirteen children.—Hopkinson's MSS.

[2] Lord Latimer was united to this lady July 20th, 1518, in the chapel of his manor of Snape, during his father's life, being then only a knight.—Wolsey's Register, p. 94. Unpublished History of the Family of Neville, by Daniel Rowland, esq.

[3] Rev. T. Nash, Archæologia, vol. ix., p. 6.

manors of Cumperton, Wadborough, and several other estates in Worcestershire, which he inherited from Elizabeth Beauchamp, were settled on Katharine Parr at her marriage with this wealthy noble."

The ancestors of Katharine Parr, the Marmions, had formerly held sway at Tanfield; and through the marriage of her grandfather, sir William Parr, with Elizabeth Fitzhugh, the grand-daughter of the heiress of sir Robert Marmion, the castle and manor of Tanfield descended to the father of Katharine, and was now the property of her brother, young William Parr. He was at that time childless; and as Katharine was his heiress presumptive, there was a contingency, by no means remote of this demesne, which was so desirably contiguous to her husband's estates, falling to her. It would be too much to say that lord Latimer had an eye to this contingency when he sought the hand of Katharine Parr, for she was young, lovely, accomplished, learned, and virtuous, and, to a man who had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the perfections of a mind like hers, the worldly advantages that might accrue from a matrimonial alliance with her, must have been considerations of a very secondary nature. Fortunate, indeed, must lord Latimer have felt himself in being able to obtain so charming a companion for his latter days, and at the same time so well qualified to direct the studies and form the minds of his children. The amiable temper and sound sense of Katharine taught her to perform the difficult duties that devolved upon her in the character of a step-mother with such conscientious and endearing gentleness, that she ensured the love and esteem of all the families with whom she was connected in that capacity. During the first years of her marriage with lord Latimer, she pursued the noiseless tenour of her way in the peaceful routine and privacy of domestic life, to which those talents and acquirements which afterwards

rendered her the admiration of the most learned men in Europe, and the intellectual model of the ladies of England, were calculated to lend a charm.

Lord Latimer was so strenuous a catholic that he became one of the leaders of the Northern insurrection, on account of the suppression of the monasteries, and the sequestration of the church property by Cromwell, in 1536. This revolt, though chiefly proceeding from the miseries of a starving population, who found themselves suddenly deprived of the relief of conventual alms in seasons of distress, assumed the tone of a domestic crusade against the enemies of the olden faith, and was called the pilgrimage of grace. Forty thousand rustics in Yorkshire, alone, appeared in arms, bearing white banners with the image of the Saviour on the cross, and the chalice and host depicted thereon. Their nominal general was Robert Aske, a gentleman of mean condition, and a mysterious personage entitled the earl of Poverty, but an enthusiastic junto of nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics, at the head of whom was the archbishop of York, lord Neville, lord Darcy, and the husband of Katharine Parr, were allied with these adventurers.[1] They were knit together with oaths of compact, and they compelled the inhabitants of every village or town through which they passed to take this oath, and to join the pilgrimage. They became so formidable in a short time that the duke of Norfolk, who was empowered by the king to put down the rebellion, considered it more desirable to negotiate than to fight; and a peaceable conference was appointed between the royal commissioners and a chosen number of the leading men among the insurgents at Doncaster. Lord Latimer was one of the delegates nominated by the pilgrims for the perilous service of laying their grievances before the sovereign, and stating

[1] *Speed.*

their demands.[1] Four pledges were given by the Duke for the safe return of the delegates.[2]

They demanded, among other things, the restoration of the monastic establishments and the papal supremacy, the suppression of heretical books, especially the writings of Wycliff, Luther, Melancthon, and others whom they specified. That the heretical bishops might be condemned to the flames, or else compelled to do battle in single combat with certain valiantly disposed pilgrims, who would take upon themselves the office of champions for the church militant. There were also many legal and statistical reforms required, but the most extraordinary demand of the northern democracy was, "that the king should expel from his council all men of *vileyn* blood, especially Cromwell, Rich, and others who had risen from a humble station in society."[3]

In every era of our history it may be noted that the lower classes have disliked the elevation of persons of their own degree to the exercise of authority in the state. Such is the inconsistency of popular pride.

The king was much offended at the manifesto of the pilgrims, and took upon himself the task of compounding a reply, in which he expressed his astonishment, "that ignorant people should go about to instruct him in matters of theology, who somewhat had been noted to be learned in what the true faith should be."[4] In this, his majesty, with all the pride of authorship, evidently designs to recal to the memory of the more polite members of the confederacy, his own book against Luther, which had procured for him from the pope the title of "defender of the faith." He also angrily complains "of their presumption in wanting to mend his laws, as if after being their king eight-and-twenty years he did not know

[1] Speed; Lord Herbert. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Speed; Herbert; Lingard.

how to govern the realm. He rejected all their petitions, but offered to pardon them for appearing in arms against him, if they would give up their ringleaders; and concluded by bidding them admire the benignity of their sovereign."

The pilgrims declined the royal grace under such conditions, recalled their delegates, and made them ready for battle. The wise and conciliating policy of the duke of Norfolk prevented the collision which appeared almost inevitable. He prevailed upon the insurgents to lay down their arms, on condition of receiving free pardon from the king, with a promise that their grievances should be discussed in parliament; and with some difficulty he induced the king, who was very peevish with him about it, to publish the amnesty without exceptions.

The general pardon was dated December 9th, 1536. In February, the insurrection broke out again, but lord Latimer did not join it. The prudent counsels of Katharine possibly deterred her lord from involving himself a second time in so rash an enterprise. It is certain that, by remaining quiescent, he escaped the tragic fate of his northern neighbours and late confederates, the lord D'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir Stephen Hamerton, and upwards of seventy others, on whom the royal vengeance inflicted the extreme penalty of the law. The only daughter of sir Stephen Hamerton was betrothed to Katherine's youthful kinsman, Walter Strickland, and not only this family connexion, but the execution of several of the Nevilles after the second rising must have rendered this period a season of fearful anxiety to lord and lady Latimer. It was probably about this time that sir John Russell, the lord privy seal, took the opportunity of requesting a very inconvenient favour for one of his friends, of lord Latimer; namely, that his lordship should oblige this person with the loan of his fine mansion in the churchyard of the Chartreux, now called the

Charterhouse. Latimer did not venture to refuse, but his extreme reluctance to comply with the request, may be seen in the following letter[1] written in reply.—

"Right honourable and my especial good lord.

"After my most hearty recommendations had to your good lordship. Whereas your lordship doth desire . . . . of your friends my house within Chartreux Churchyard beside so . . . . I assure your lordship the getting of a lease of it cost me 100 marcs, besides other *pleasures* (improvements) that I did to the house, for it was much my desire to have it, because it stands in good air, out of press of the city. And I do alway lie there when I come to London, and I have no other house to lie at. And, also, I have granted it to farm to Mr. Nudygate, (Newdigate,) son and heir to serjeant Nudygate, to lie in the said house in my absence. And he to void whensoever I come up to London. Nevertheless, I am contented, if it can do your lordship any pleasure for your friend, that he lie there forthwith. I seek my lodgings at this Michaelmas term myself. And as touching my lease, I assure your lordship it is not here, but I shall bring it right to your lordship at my coming up, at this said term, and then and alway I shall be at your lordship's commandment, as knows our Lord; who preserve your lordship in much honour to his pleasure. From Wyke, in Worcestershire, the last day of September.

"Your lordship's assuredly to command,

"JOHN LATIMER."[2]

To the right honourable and very especial
good lord, my Lord Privy Seal.

From this letter we may gather that the household arrangements of the second husband of Katherine Parr were of the same prudential character which induces many of the nobles of the present age to let their mansions ready furnished to wealthy commoners, when they retire to their country seats, with this difference—lord Latimer's arrangement with the heir of serjeant Newdigate was a perennial engagement, by which the tenant was to vacate the house when his duties in parliament or other business called his lordship to town. It must have been

[1] Vespasian, F. xiii., 183, folio 131; an original document in the same volume of the Cottonian MSS., containing letters of Katharine Parr and other persons of her era.

[2] The Latimers were lords of Wyke Burnell, near Pershore, in Worcestershire, which was derived from the alliance of the Nevilles with the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick. Lord Latimer was evidently staying there when he wrote this letter.

a serious annoyance to all parties for the friend of my lord privy seal to take an impertinent fancy to occupy lord Latimer's town house under these circumstances; and yet, because the minister prefers the suit, the noble owner of the mansion is compelled to break his agreement with his tenant, and to seek for other lodgings for himself against the ensuing session of parliament, in order to accommodate a person who has evidently no claim on his courtesy. But a man who had been once in arms against the sovereign would, in that reign, be careful how he afforded cause for offence to one of the satellites of the crown. After his name had been connected with the pilgrimage of grace, lord Latimer had a delicate game to play, and it was well for him that his wife was related to the king, and the niece of a favoured member of the royal household, sir William Parr. Katharine's sister, lady Herbert, had an appointment in Jane Seymour's court, and assisted at the christening of Edward VI.

That Katharine Parr was not only acquainted with Henry VIII., but possessed a considerable influence over his mind some years before there was the slightest probability of her ever becoming the sharer of his throne, is certified by the history of the Throckmorton family, to which we are principally indebted for the following details. Sir George Throckmorton, the husband of Katharine Parr's aunt, having incurred the ill will of lord Cromwell, in consequence of some disputes arising from the contiguity of their manors of Coughton Court and Oursley, Cromwell endeavoured to compass the ruin of his aristocratic neighbour, by accusing him of having denied the king's supremacy.[1] The charge was peculiarly

[1] MS. Throckmorton, collated by Brown Willis. Among the incipient proofs of Cromwell's seizure of the Throckmorton property is his possession of a house in Throgmorton-street, where his oppression of his poor neighbours is commemorated by Stow, whose father was a sufferer. That the Throckmortons had a city house there is proved by the MS.

alarming to Throckmorton, because his brother Michael was in the service of cardinal Pole, and had taken an active part in opposing the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon, as we are told by his kinsman in the following lines, from a metrical chronicle of the Life of sir Nicholas Throckmorton:—

"For after that resolved stood the king
To take a new, and leave his wedded wife.
My uncle was a means to work the thing,
By Reynold Poole, who brewed all the strife,
And then at Rome did work the contrary,
Which drave the king at home to tyranny."

Throckmorton MS.[1]

The subject of sir George Throckmorton's imprisonment, and the distress of his family, is introduced in these quaint lines:—

"My father's foes clapt him, through cankered hate,
In Tower fast, and gaped to joint his neck;
They were in hope for to obtain a *mate*,
Who heretofore had laboured for a *check*;
Yea, Grevills grieved him ill without a cause!
Who hurt not them, nor yet the prince's laws.

"Thus everything did run against the hair;
Our name disgraced, and we but witless boys,
Did deem it hard such crosses then to bear—
Our minds more fit to deal with childish toys;
But troubles are of perfect wit the schools,
When life at will feeds men as fat as fools."

quoted above, where it mentions, that, after the death of Edward VI., the four sons of that family met there for a consultation

"In London, in a house that bore our name."

Throgmorton House was evidently one of Cromwell's spoils, seized for a time from that family.

[1] This curious literary treasure belongs to the Throckmorton MS., and contains some of the most remarkable passages in the life of sir Nicholas Throckmorton (the son of sir George and Katharine Parr's aunt), arranged in verse by his nephew, sir Thomas Throckmorton. The poem consists of 229 stanzas, of six lines each. The near relationship between queen Katharine Parr and the Throckmorton family renders it a valuable addition to the scanty records of this period of her life.

After drawing rather a ludicrous picture of their tribulations, and comparing lady Throckmorton in her tears to a drowned mouse, he introduces the family of Parr on the scene.

"While flocking foes to work our bane were bent,
While thunder-claps of angry Jove did last,
Then to lord Parr my mother[1] saw me sent,
So with her brother I was safely placed;
Of alms he kept me in extremity,
Who did misdoubt a worse calamity.

"Oh, lucky looks that fawned on Katharine Parr!
A woman rare like her but seldom seen,
To Borough first, and then to Latimer,
She widow was, and then became a queen;
My mother prayed her niece with watery eyes,
To rid both her and hers from endless cries.

"She, willing of herself to do us good,
Sought out the means her uncle's life to save;
And when the king was in his pleasing mood
She humbly then her suit began to crave;
With wooing times denials disagree,
She spake and sped—my father was set free!"

In his rapturous allusion to the good offices of Katharine Parr, the poet, by mentioning her subsequent marriage with the king, a little confuses the time when her intercession was successfully employed for the deliverance of sir George Throckmorton. The date of this event is clearly defined, in the prose documents of the Throckmorton family, to have taken place in the year 1540, by the statement that sir George was released through the influence of his kinswoman, the lady Katha-

[1] This lady was the daughter of Katharine's grandmother, widow of sir William Parr, K. G., by a second marriage with sir Nicholas Vaux; consequently, lady Throckmorton was sister, by the half blood, to Katharine Parr's father and uncle. Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the younger brother of lady Throckmorton, married Elizabeth Green, sister to lady Parr, and both these ladies were the grand-daughters of Matilda Throckmorton, whose stately monument is to be seen in the church of Green's Norton. Thus we see the connexion of Katharine Parr with the family of Throckmorton was threefold.—Baker's Northamptonshire; Throckmorton Papers.

rine Parr, and advised with by the king, at her suggestion, about Cromwell, immediately before the arrest of that minister, which was in the June of that year.[1] This fact throws a new light on the fall of Cromwell, and leads us to infer that his ruin was caused, not by the enmity of Katharine Howard, but of her unsuspected successor, Katharine Parr, at that time the wife of a zealous Catholic peer, and herself a member of the church of Rome. It was probably from the eloquent lips of this strong-minded and intrepid lady, when pleading for the life of her uncle, that Henry learned the extent of Cromwell's rapacity, and the real state of the public mind as to his administration; and thus may we, perhaps, account for the otherwise mysterious change in the royal mind, when the monarch, after loading his favourite with honours and immunities, suddenly resolved to sacrifice him to popular indignation as a scapegoat, on whose shoulders the political sins of both king and council might be conveniently laid. Sir George Throckmorton took an active part in bringing his former persecutor to the block, and instead of being stripped by him of his fair domain of Coughton Court, was enabled to purchase Cromwell's manor of Oursley, on advantageous terms, of the crown, and to transmit it to his descendants, in whose possession it remains at the present day.[2]

Few things, perhaps, tend more importantly to the elucidation of historical mysteries than the study of

[1] This important incident is recorded in Brown Willis's History of the ancient family of Throckmorton, drawn up from the archives of that house in the year 1730. By the courtesy of the late venerable and lamented sir Charles Throckmorton, Bart., I have been favoured with some interesting and valuable extracts connected with the history of Katharine Parr, from that work and other family documents, which were kindly transcribed by our mutual friend, Miss Jane Porter, the accomplished author of Thaddeus of Warsaw and many other works, illustrative of the *beau-ideal* of heroism and virtue.

[2] MS. Throckmorton. This statement is confirmed by Pollino, who says that Henry had secret consultations with a noble cavalier, called *Roberto Trogmorton*, in order to bring about the fall of Cromwell.

genealogies. It is by obtaining an acquaintance with the family connexions of the leading actors in any memorable era, that we gain a clue to the secret springs of their actions, and perceive the wheel within a wheel which impelled to deeds otherwise unaccountable.

The brother of Katharine Parr was the husband of the heiress of the last earl of Essex, of the ancient line of Bourchier; but on the demise of that nobleman, those honours, which in equity ought to have been vested in his descendants, were, to the indignation of all the connexions of the Bourchiers and Parrs, bestowed on Cromwell. The death of that rapacious minister smoothed the way for the summons of William Parr to the house of lords as earl of Essex, in right of his wife.[1] Katharine herself came in for a share of the spoils of the enemy of her house, for his manor of Wimbledon was settled on her. Tradition says that she resided at the mansion at some period of her life. A portion of this ancient edifice, which is still called by her name, is in existence.[2]

Cromwell was the third great statesman of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, within the brief period of ten years, whose fall is attributable to female influence. Wolsey and More were the victims of Anne Boleyn's undisguised animosity, and the secret ill will of Katharine Parr appears to have been equally fatal to Cromwell, although her consummate prudence in avoiding any demonstration of hostility has prevented her from being recognised as the author of his ruin, save in the records of the house of Throckmorton.

The execution of the unfortunate queen, Katharine Howard, in February, 1542, preceded the death of Katharine Parr's second husband, lord Latimer, about

[1] Mills's Catalogue of Honour. Dugdale.
[2] Manning's History of Surrey.

twelve months. The will of lord Latimer is dated September 12, 1542, but as it was not proved till the 11th of the following March,[1] it is probable that he died early in 1543.

In this document lord Latimer bequeaths to the lady Katharine his wife the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. He bequeaths his body to be buried on the south side of the church of Well, where his ancestors lay buried, if he should die in Yorkshire, appointing that the master of the hospital, and vicar of the church of Well, should take and receive all the rents and profits of the parsonage of Askham Richard, in the county of the city of York, as also of the parsonage of St. George's church, in York, for the term of forty years, wherewith to endow a grammar school at Well, and to pray for him the founder.[2] The latter clause affords evidence that lord Latimer died as he had lived—a member of the church of Rome. There is, however, neither monument nor memorial of him in the church of Well, for he died in London and was interred in St. Paul's cathedral.[3]

The conversion of Katharine to the principles of the reformed religion did not, in all probability, take place till after the decease of lord Latimer, when, unbiassed by the influence of that zealous supporter of the ancient system, she found herself at liberty to listen to the impassioned eloquence of the apostles of the Protestant faith, men who were daily called upon to testify the sincerity of their profession, through tortures and a fiery death. The house of the noble and learned widow soon became the resort of such men as Coverdale, Latimer, and Parkhurst; and sermons were daily preached in her chamber of state by those who were desirous of restoring

[1] Testamenta Vetusta. Sir H. Nicolas.
[2] Testamenta Vetusta. Whittaker's Richmondshire.
[3] History of the House of Neville.

the practice of the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity.[1]

Katharine was not only pious, learned, and passing fair, but possessed of great wealth as the mistress of two ample jointures, both unincumbered. With these advantages, and connected as she was either by descent or marriage with some of the noblest families in England, even with royalty itself in no very remote degree, it is not to be supposed that she was left unwooed. At an early stage of her widowhood, she was sought in marriage by sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, and uncle to the infant heir of England. Sir Thomas Seymour enjoyed the favour of his royal brother-in-law in a high degree, and was the handsomest and most admired bachelor of the court. He was gay, magnificent, and brave, excelling in all the manly exercises of that age, and much distinguished by the richness of his dress and ornaments, in which his fashions were implicitly followed by the other courtiers, and with the ladies he was considered irresistible. How it happened that the grave, learned, and devout lady Latimer, should be the one to fix the wandering heart of this gay and reckless gallant, for whom the sprightliest beauties of the court had sighed in vain, has never been explained, nor is it always possible to account for the inconsistencies of love. As the Seymours were among the political leaders of the anti-papal party, it is, however, probable that sir Thomas might be induced to attend the religious assemblies that were held at the house of this noble and distinguished convert to the reformed religion, from motives of curiosity in the first instance, till a more powerful interest was insensibly excited in his mind by her charms and winning deportment. Be this as it may, it is certain that Katharine fully returned his passion, as she herself subsequently acknowledges, "and had determined

[1] Echard.

to become his wife at that time if her will had not, for wise purposes, been overruled by a higher power."[1]

A more important destiny was reserved for her, and while she delayed her union with the man of her heart, till a proper interval from the death of her late husband should have elapsed, her hand was demanded by a third widower, in the decline of life, and the father of children by former marriages. This widower was no other than her sovereign, who had remained in a state of gloomy celibacy since the execution of his last queen, apparently wearied out by the frequent disappointments and mistakes that had attended his ventures in the matrimonial lottery. His desire for conjugal companionship was, however, unabated, and rendered, perhaps, wiser by experience, he determined, in his selection of a sixth wife, not to be guided by externals only.

The circumstances that led to Henry's marriage with Katharine Parr, are quaintly glanced at by her poet cousin, sir Thomas Throckmorton, who dates the advancement of his family from that event.

> "But when the king's fifth wife had lost her head,
> Yet he mislikes the life to live alone,
> And once resolved the sixth time for to wed,
> He sought outright to make his choice of one—
> That choice was chance, right happy for us all,
> It brewed our bliss, and rid us quite from thrall."
>
> Throckmorton MS.

When the celebrated act of parliament was passed which rendered it a capital offence for any lady who had ever made a lapse from virtue to contract matrimony with her sovereign, without first apprising him of her fault, it had been shrewdly observed, that his majesty had now no other alternative than to marry a widow. No spinster, however pure her conduct might have been, it was presumed, would venture to place herself within the peril

[1] Letters of queen Katharine Parr to the lord admiral, sir Thomas Seymour.

of a penalty, which might be inflicted on the most innocent woman in the world, the moment she ceased to charm the unprincipled tyrant, whose fickleness was only equalled by his malice and cruelty.

When Henry first made known to lady Latimer that she was the lady whom he intended to honour with the sixth reversion of his hand, she was struck with dismay, and in the terror with which his cruel treatment of his matrimonial victims inspired her, she actually told him "that it was better to be his mistress than his wife."[1] A few months after marriage, such a sarcasm on his conduct as a husband might have cost Henry's best loved queen her head. As it was, this cutting observation from the lips of a matron of Katharine's well-known virtue, though it must have afforded him a mortifying idea of the estimation in which the dignity of queen-consort was regarded by the ladies of his court, had no other effect than to increase the eagerness of his suit to the reluctant widow. Fear was not, however, her only objection to become the wife of Henry.

Love was for awhile victorious over ambition in the heart of Katharine. Her affection for Seymour rendered her very listless about the royal match at first;[2] but her favoured lover presumed not to contest the prize with his all-powerful brother-in-law and sovereign. A rival of Henry's temper, who held the heads of wives, kinsmen, and favourites, as cheaply as tennis balls, was not to be withstood. The Adonis of the court vanished from the scene, and the bride-elect, accommodating her mind to the change of bridegroom, as she might, prepared to assume the glittering fetters of a queenly slave with a good grace. The arrangements for the royal nuptials were made with a celerity truly astonishing; barely three months intervened between the proving of

[1] Leti. [2] Strype's Memorials, vol. ii., part 1, p. 206.

lord Latimer's will and the day on which Cranmer grants a licence "for the marriage of his sovereign lord, king Henry, with Katharine Latymer, late the wife of the lord de Latymer, deceased, in whatever church, chapel, or oratory he may please, without publication of bans, dispensing with all ordinances to the contrary, for reasons concerning the honour and advancement of the whole realm."[1] Dated July 10th, 1543.

Two days afterwards, Katharine exchanged her briefly-worn weeds of widowhood, for the bridal robes of a queen of England—robes that had proved fatal trappings to four of her five predecessors in the perilous dignity to which it was the pleasure of her enamoured sovereign to advance her. The nuptials of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr, instead of being hurried over secretly in some obscure corner, like an unhallowed mystery, (as was the case in his previous marriages with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard,) were solemnized much in the same way as royal marriages are in the present times, without pageantry, but with all suitable observances. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in the queen's closet at Hampton Court; and the high respect of the monarch for his bride was proved by his permitting the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, his daughters, and his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, to assist at these nuptials.[2] The queen was also supported by her sister Mrs. Herbert, afterwards Countess of Pembroke; her beloved friend, Katharine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk, Anne, countess of Hertford, and Joanna, lady Dudley. The king was attended by his brother-in-law, the earl of Hertford, lord John Russell, privy seal, sir Anthony Brown, master of the pensioners, Henry Howard, Richard Long, Thomas

[1] Chronological Catalogue of Papers for New Rymer, p. 238.
[2] Notarial certificate in the Chapter House.

Darcy, Edward Baynton, the husband of the late queen's sister, Anthony Denny and Thomas Speke, knights, and William Herbert, the brother-in-law of his bride.[1]

It is scarcely possible but the cheek of Katharine must have blanched when the nuptial ring was placed on her finger by the ruthless hand that had signed the death-warrant of two of his consorts within the last seven years. If a parallel might be permitted between the grave facts of history and the creations of romance, we should say that the situation of Henry's sixth queen greatly resembled that of the fair Scheherazade in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, who voluntarily contracted matrimony with sultan Schriar, though aware that it was his custom to marry a fresh wife every day, and cut off her head the next morning.

The sound principles, excellent judgment, and endearing qualities of Katharine Parr, and above all, her superlative skill as a nurse, by rendering her necessary to the comfort of the selfish and irritable tyrant who had chosen her as a help meet for him in the season of premature old age and increasing disease, afforded her best security from the fate of her predecessors; but of this hereafter.

Among the unpublished MSS. in the State Paper Office, we find the following paragraph in a letter from sir Thomas Wriothesley, relating to the recent bridal of the sovereign:—"I doubt not of your grace knowing by the fame and otherwise, that the king's majesty was married on Thursday last to my lady Latimer, a woman in my judgment, for certain wisdom and gentleness, most meet for his highness; and sure I am, his majesty had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she

[1] Notarial certificate in the Chapter House.

is. The Lord grant them long life, and much joy together."[1]

On the day of her marriage, queen Katharine presented her royal step-daughter and bridemaid, the princess Mary, with a magnificent pair of gold bracelets set with rubies, and the yet more acceptable gift in money of £25.[2] Of course, the princess Elizabeth, who also assisted at the bridal, was not forgotten. The pecuniary present to Mary was repeated on the 26th of September.[3]

Katharine Parr had now for the third time undertaken the office of a step-mother—an office at all times of much difficulty and responsibility, but peculiarly so with regard to the children of Henry VIII., who were the offspring of queens so fatally opposed as Katharine of Arragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour, had successively been. How well the sound sense and endearing manners of Katharine Parr fitted her to reconcile the rival interests, and to render herself a bond of union between the disjointed links of the royal family, is proved by the affection and respect of her grateful step-children, and also by their letters after king Henry's death. Whether a man who had so glaringly violated the duties of a father to his daughters, as Henry had done, deserves any credit for paternal care in his choice of his sixth queen, it would be difficult to say; but it was scarcely possible for him to have selected a lady better qualified to conduce to the happiness of his children, to improve their minds, and to fit them, by the inculcation of virtuous and noble sentiments, to adorn the high station to which they were born.

The union of the sovereign with the pious and learned lady Latimer was the cause of great joy to the university of Cambridge, where the doctrines of the Reformation had

[1] No. 400; date, July 1543. This letter seems to be written to the duke of Norfolk.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary. Sir F. Madden.

[3] Ibid.

already taken deep root. The opinions of this erudite body on the subject are eloquently expressed in their congratulatory address to Henry on his marriage.

The dignity of the scholar and the queen are beautifully blended with the tenderness of the woman and the devotedness of the Christian, in the line of conduct adopted by Katharine Parr after her elevation to a throne. Her situation at this period is not unlike that of Esther in the house of Ahasuerus. Her attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation naturally rendered her an object of jealous ill will to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the leader of the anti-papal Catholic party; and as early as the second week after her marriage, this daring ecclesiastic ventured to measure his power against that of the royal bride, by an attack on a humble society of reformers at Windsor. Anthony Persons, a priest, John Marbeck, a chorister, Robert Testwood, and Henry Filmer, were the leading persons attached to this community; but it was suspected that they received encouragement from members of the royal household. Dr. London, one of the most unprincipled agents of Cromwell in the spoliation of the abbeys, had, since the fall of his patron, changed his tack, and was employed by the triumphant faction in preparing a book of informations, denouncing every person in Windsor who was suspected of holding opinions at variance with the six articles. This book was presented to Gardiner, who moved the king in council that a commission should be granted for searching all the houses in Windsor, for books written in favour of the new learning.[1] Henry acceded to this measure as regarded the town, but excepted the castle, his own royal residence, having doubtless shrewd reason to suspect, that more works of the kind objected to would be found in the closets and chambers of those

[1] Burnet.

nearest and dearest to him, than among the poor and unlearned inhabitants of Windsor.

A few MS. notes on the Bible, and a Latin Concordance in progress of arrangement, which were found in the house of Marbeck, furnished an excuse for the arrest, trial, and condemnation of himself and his three friends. Nothing could induce them to betray any person in the royal household, to save themselves from the fiery death with which they were menaced. Marbeck found an intercessor sufficiently powerful to represent his case to the king. This was most probably either the queen, or some person encouraged by her. Henry was shewn the Latin Concordance, of which several hundred pages were completed—"Poor Marbeck!" exclaimed he, with an unwonted burst of sympathy, "it would be well for thine accusers if they had employed their time no worse."[1] A reprieve was granted to Marbeck; but Persons, Testwood, and Filmer, were sent to the stake, July 26th, two days after their condemnation.

Though the flames of their martyrdom were kindled almost in the sight of Henry's Protestant queen, she was unable to avert the fate of the victims; and well aware was she that the blow which produced this fell sacrifice of human life was aimed at herself, and would be followed by an attack on persons in her immediate confidence. The murder of these humble reformers was, indeed, but the preliminary move, in the bold yet subtle game which Gardiner was playing against the more elevated individuals, professing the same religion with the queen.

Dr. Haines, the dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, sir Philip Hoby and his lady, sir Thomas Carden, and other members of the royal household, were denounced by Dr. London and Symonds as persons encouraging the new learning, and placed under arrest.[2]

[1] Soame's History of the Reformation. [2] Burnet.

The only evidence against them that could be produced was contained in certain inferences and false statements which Dr. London had suborned Ockham, the clerk of the court, to introduce into the notes he had taken at the trials of the recent victims.[1] The queen having obtained full information of these proceedings, sent one of her most trusty and courageous servants into court to expose the iniquity of this plot. Ockham was arrested and his papers seized, which afforded full proof of the base conspiracy into which he had entered; and the whole transaction was laid before the king. The tables were now completely turned. London and Symonds were sent for and examined on oath; and not being aware that their letters were intercepted, fully committed themselves, were found guilty of perjury, and were sentenced to be placed on horseback with their faces to the horses' tails, with papers on their foreheads, setting forth their perjury. They were then set in the pillory in Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, where the king and queen were. Katharine sought no further vengeance; and the mortification caused by this disgraceful punishment is supposed to have caused Dr. London's death.[2]

Such were the scenes that marked the bridal month of Katharine Parr as queen of England—that month which is generally styled the honeymoon. Her elevation to the perilous dignity of queen-consort afforded her, however, the satisfaction of advancing the fortunes of various members of her own family. She bestowed the office of lord chamberlain on her uncle, lord Parr of Horton; she made her sister, lady Herbert, one of her ladies of the bedchamber; and her step-daughter, Margaret Neville, the only daughter of her deceased husband, lord Latimer, one of her maids of honour. On the 21st of December,

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref., vol. i., p. 312. Rapin. Hall.
[2] Burnet, vol. i.

her brother, William Parr, was created earl of Essex,[1] in right of his wife, having been previously made baron Parr of Kendal.

The preferment which queen Katharine's cousins of the house of Throckmorton obtained, through her powerful patronage, is thus quaintly described by the poetical chronicler of that family:—

"Lo, then! my brethren, Clement, George, and I,
Did seek, as youth doth still, in court to be;
Each other state as base we did defy,
Compared with court, the nurse of dignity!
'Tis truly said, no fishing to the seas—
No serving but a king—if you can please!

* * * * * * * *

"First in the court my brother Clement served;
A fee he had, the queen her cup to bring,
And some supposed that I right well deserved,
When Sewer they saw me chosen to the king.
My brother George, by valour in youth rare,
A pension got and gallant halbert bare."

One of the first fruits of queen Katharine's virtuous influence over the mind of the king, was the restoration of his daughters, the persecuted Mary and the young neglected Elizabeth, to their proper rank in the court, and recognition in the order of succession to the crown. The privy purse expenses of the princess Mary bear evidence of many little traits of kindness and friendly attentions which she from time to time received from her amiable step-mother. When Mary was taken ill, on her

[1] This gentleman enjoyed not only the favour but the esteem of king Henry, who honoured him with the name of "his Integrity." The young prince, afterwards Edward VI., always called him "his honest uncle." He was finally advanced to the title of marquis of Northampton. Like his sister, queen Katharine, he possessed an elegant and cultivated mind, and delighted in poetry and music. His marriage with the heiress of Essex was a miserable one, and was dissolved in consequence of the incontinence of the lady. The portrait of the marquis, among the Holbein heads in her majesty's collection, represents him as a model of manly beauty.

journey between Grafton and Woodstock, the queen sent her own litter to convey her to Ampthill, where she was herself residing with the king. On the New Year's day after her marriage,[1] queen Katharine sent her footman, Jacob, with the present of a cheese for the princess Mary, who guerdoned the bearer with seven and sixpence.

A rich night-gown, or evening dress, is on another occasion sent by queen Katharine to Mary, by Fritton, the keeper of the royal robes. Mary's reward to Fritton was fifteen shillings. Mary embroidered a cushion with her own hands, as an offering for the queen, and paid seven and sixpence to John Hayes for devising the pattern.[2] Katharine, on her marriage, received into her household one Mrs. Barbara, undoubtedly at the request of the princess Mary, who had kindly supplied this person with money, clothes, food, and medical attendance, during a long illness. An item occurs at the time of Katharine Parr's marriage, in the accounts of the princess, of money presented to Mrs. Barbara, when she was sworn queen's woman, and being thus honourably provided for, her name is no longer blended with the list of Mary's pensioners.

Notwithstanding the great difference in their religious tenets, a firm friendship ever subsisted between Katharine Parr and Mary. They were near enough in age to have been sisters, they excelled in the same accomplishments, and the great learning and studious pursuits of these royal ladies rendered them suitable companions for each other. The more brilliant talents of the young Elizabeth were drawn forth and fostered under the auspices of her highly-gifted step-mother. Katharine Parr took also an active part in directing the studies of the heir of England,

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary, by sir F. Madden.
[2] Ibid.

and her approbation appears to have been the greatest encouragement the prince could receive.

In a letter, written in French, to queen Katharine, Edward notices the beauty of her penmanship. "I thank you," says he, "most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me; not only for their beauty, but for their imagination. For when I see your *belle ecriture* (fair writing), and the excellence of your genius, greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But, then, I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and will, will be acceptable, and so I write you this letter."[1]

A modern author has noticed the great similarity between the handwriting of Edward VI. and Katharine Parr, and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that Katharine superintended the education of one or other of the juvenile members of the royal family previous to her marriage with king Henry. No official evidence of her appointment to any office of the kind has been discovered, but her great reputation for wisdom and learning renders the tradition not improbable. Certain it is, that after she became queen, she took great delight in directing the studies of her royal step-children. It is evident that Edward VI., queen Elizabeth, and their youthful cousins, lady Jane and lady Katharine Gray, all imbibed her taste for classic literature, and her attachment to the principles of the Reformation. She induced not only Elizabeth, but Mary, to translate passages from the Scriptures. Each of these princesses compiled a little manual of devotions in Latin, French, and English, dedicated to their accomplished stepmother.[2]

[1] 2 Ellis, p. 132.

[2] See the Memoirs of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, for a description of these books.

Katharine Parr's celebrity as a scholar and a theologian, did not render her neglectful of the feminine accomplishment of needlework, in which, notwithstanding her early resistance to its practice, she much delighted. Like Henry's first excellent queen, Katharine of Arragon, she employed her hours of retirement in embroidering among her ladies. It is said that a portion of the hangings which ornamented the royal apartments of the Tower, before they were dismantled or destroyed, were the work of this queen; the only specimens, however, that are now to be found of her skill and industry in this pleasing art, are preserved at Sizergh Castle.

Her taste in dress appears to have been excellent, uniting magnificence of material with a simplicity of form. In fact, the costume of Katharine Parr, as shewn in the miniature from which the frontispiece of this volume is taken, might be worn with perfect propriety in any courtly circle of the present age.

Katharine Parr enacted the queen with as much royal state and splendour as the loftiest of her predecessors; she granted an interview to the Spanish duke de Najera, at Westminster palace, Feb. 17, 1544. This Spanish grandee visited England on his return from the army of Charles V., and was admitted to pay his respects to the queen and her daughter-in-law, the princess Mary. The queen permitted him to kiss her hand. Pedro de Gante, secretary to the grandee, has described her dress with the zeal of a man milliner. She wore a kirtle of brocade, and an open robe of cloth of gold, the sleeves lined with crimson satin and trimmed with three piled crimson velvet, the train more than two yards long. Suspended from her neck were two crosses and a jewel of very rich diamonds, and in her head-dress were many large and beautiful ones. Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants.

The original miniature of this queen, which has recently attracted much interest during the sale of Horace Walpole's collections at Strawberry Hill, represents her with very small and delicately-marked features, hazel eyes, and golden hair, folded in simple Madonna bands. Her forehead is lofty and serene, indicative of talent and sprightly wit. She wears a round crimson velvet hood, or cap of state, edged with pearls, and surmounted with a jewelled band of goldsmith's work, set with rubies and pearls, which confines a long black veil, that flows from the back of the head-dress over the shoulders. The boddice and sleeves of the dress are made of rich gold brocade, and set tight to the shape. The boddice is cut square across the bust, like the corsage of a modern dress, and is edged with a row of pearls, between pipes of black and crimson velvet. She wears a double row of large pearls about her neck, from which depends a ruby cross, finished with one fair pendant pearl. Her boddice is ornamented with a large ruby brooch, set in filigree gold. The miniature is a small oval, on a deep smalt-blue background. Her age is stated, in gilt figures in front of the picture, to be xxxii, so that the likeness must have been taken in the year 1545, about two years after her marriage with Henry VIII.

Perhaps this was the veritable miniature which the admiral, sir Thomas Seymour, obtained from Katherine, when he subsequently entreated her "to send him one of her little pictures, if she had not given them all away;" —a proof that several original miniatures of this queen were painted, although they are now almost as rare, and difficult to identify, as those of Katharine Howard.

The engraving, usually stated to be from an original painting, of Katharine Parr,[1] possesses none of her characteristics. It is a shrewd, sordid-looking female of

[1] In Lodge.

rather large proportions, with dark complexion and hair. Katharine Parr was *petite* in form, with remarkably small and delicately cut features, and her complexion was that of a genuine Westmoreland beauty, brilliantly fair, and blooming, with hazel eyes, and hair of a golden auburn, realizing the beau-ideal of Petrarca, when he exclaims—

"Love, from what precious mine of gold didst thou
Bring the rich glories of her shining hair;
Where plucked the opening roses, fresh and fair,
Which on her cheeks in tender blushes glow?"

Katharine Parr's celebrated work, "The Lamentations of a Sinner," was written after her marriage with the king. This little volume, next to the writings of sir Thomas More, affords one of the finest specimens of English composition of that era. It is a brief but eloquent treatise on the imperfection of human nature in its unassisted state, and the utter vanity of all earthly grandeur and distinction. Within the limited compass of about 120 miniature pages, it comprises the elements of almost all the sermons that have been levelled against catholicism. The royal writer does not forget to compliment king Henry for having emancipated England from the papal authority:—

"Thanks be given to the Lord that he hath now sent us such a godly and learned king in these latter days to reign over us, that, with the force of God's word, hath taken away the veils and mists of errors, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's word, which was so long hid and kept under, that the people were well nigh famished and hungered for lack of spiritual food—such was the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, that hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh—I mean by this Moses king Henry 8th, my most sovereign favourable lord and husband, one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses' conquest over Pharaoh, (and I mean by this Pharaoh the bishop of Rome), who hath been, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel."

The gross flattery offered up to her husband in this passage is somewhat atoned for by the pure morality which generally pervades the precepts of this little treatise. The zeal with which it is written is extremely ardent, her aspiration for martyrdom frequent; the tenets inculcated are simply that all good works arise from the inspiration of the Spirit of God, vouchsafed through belief in Christ, derived from prayer and diligent perusal of the Scriptures. She is nearly as severe on those who call themselves gospellers, and separate faith and works, as she is on the pope; and she evidently considers them in equal or greater error. Here are her words, and it must be owned, that if she considered her two last lords, Henry VIII. and Thomas Seymour exceptions from her description, conjugal partiality must have strangely blinded her:—

"Now I will speak with great dolour and heaviness of heart of a sort of people which be in the world, that be called professors of the gospel, and by their words do declare and shew that they be much affected to the same. But I am afraid some of them do build on the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weak foundation: I mean, they make not Christ their chiefest foundation. But either they would be called *gospellers*, and procure some credit and good opinion of the true and very favourers of Christ's doctrines, either to find out some carnal liberty, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or rebukers of other men's faults, or else finally to please and flatter the world. Such gospellers be an offence and slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to rejoice and laugh, saying—'Behold, I pray you, their fair fruits.' What charity, what discretion, what goodness, holiness, and purity of life is amongst them? Be they not great avengers, foul gluttons, backbiters, adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers? yea, do they not wallow and tumble in all manner of sins? These be the fruits of their doctrine, and yet the word of God is all holy, sincere, and godly, being the doctrine and occasion of all pure living."

She then, with great earnestness, applies the parable of the sower and his seed, and that of the barren fig-tree.

Her precepts to her own sex are as follows:—

"If they be women married, they learn of St. Paul to be obedient to

their husbands, and to keep silence in the congregation, and to learn of their husbands at home. Also, that they wear such apparel as becometh holiness and comely usage, with soberness, not being accusers or detractors, not given to much eating of delicate meats and drinking of wine, but that they teach honest things; to make the young women sober-minded, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, housewifely, and good, that the word of God may not be evil spoken of."

Katharine evidently approved of clerical celibacy. The passage in her work from which this inference is drawn is curious, because it shews that she still professed the church established by her husband, which insisted on this point of discipline:—

"The true followers of Christ's doctrine hath always a respect and an eye to their vocation. If they be called to the ministry of God's word, they preach and teach it sincerely to the edifying of others, and shew *themselves* in their living followers of the same. If they be *married men*,[1] having children and family, they nourish and bring them up without all bitterness and fierceness in the doctrine of the Lord in all godliness and virtue, committing (that is the married men) the instruction of others, *which appertaineth not to their charge*, to the reformation of God and his ministers."[2]

The most remarkable passage in the book is perhaps that in which Katharine deplores her former attachment to the ceremonials of the church of Rome; some of her biographers having erroneously asserted that she was brought up in the principles of the reformation. Those principles were abhorrent to the king, for it was the government, not the essentials of the Roman-catholic church, that he was labouring to overthrow.[4] In such low esteem, indeed, was Henry held by the fathers of the Reformation, that, on his rupture with the princes of the Smalcaldick league, Luther publicly returned thanks to

[1] *Laymen* is the marginal word appended to the sentence—"If they be married men."

[2] The black letter copy, from which we draw these extracts, was printed at London, "at the long shop adjoining St. Michael's church, Poultry, 1563, at the instant desire of that right gracious lady, Katharine, duchess of Suffolk, and the earnest request of lord William Parr, marquis of Northampton, brother to queen Katharine Parr."

God "for having delivered the protestant church from that offensive king of England. That king," says he, on another occasion, "is still the same old *Hintz*,[1] as in my first book I pictured him. He will surely find his judge."[2]

The adulation of a woman of superior intellect was necessary to Henry's happiness. Katharine presently discovered his weak point, and, by condescending to adapt herself to his humour, acquired considerable influence over his mind.

Early in the year 1544, king Henry gave indubitable tokens of the favour with which he regarded queen Katharine, by causing his obedient parliament to settle the royal succession on any children he might have by her in case of the decease of prince Edward without issue. The wording of the first clause of this act[3] is very curious, inasmuch as Henry treats four of his marriages as absolute nullities, and out of his six queens only condescends to acknowledge two,—namely, Jane Seymour and Katharine Parr. "Forasmuch," says the record, "as his majesty, sithence the death of the late queen Jane, hath taken to wife Katharine, late wife to sir John Neville, knight, lord Latimer, deceased, by whom as yet his majesty hath none issue, but may full well when it shall please God," &c. &c. In failure of heirs by his most entirely beloved wife queen Katharine, or any other his lawful wife, Henry by the same act[4] entails the succession on his daughter Mary, and, in failure of her line, to his daughter Elizabeth; but who their mothers were he does not think proper to notice, lest he should, by word as well as by deed, contradict his previous

[1] A German abbreviation, meaning the same as "Old Harry."
[2] Luther's Familiar Discourses. Sect. On the Princes of Europe.
[3] Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII. Herbert's Hist. Henry VIII.
[4] Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII. Herbert.

decisions as to the unlawfulness of his marriages with Katharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn. It was, however, too late for Henry VIII. to think of making sacrifices to consistency in his old age, after having followed no other guide than passion or caprice for nearly a quarter of a century.

The record further explains, that this act for settling the succession was made preparatory to the sovereign "undertaking a voyage royal, in his most royal person, into the realm of France against the French king."[1] Previous to his departure on this expedition, king Henry testified his confidence in Katharine's wisdom and integrity, by appointing her to govern the realm in his absence, by the style and title of Queen Regent of England and Ireland.[2] "The queen," observes lord Herbert, "was constituted general regent of the realm, yet not so much that her soft sex was thought less capable of ambition, as that the Roman catholics, of whom the king was mistrustful, would take no dependence from her, she being observed to incline a little to the reformed." The reformers certainly had the ascendancy in the council appointed by Henry to assist his consort with their advice. Among the Minutes of Council of July 7, 36 Henry VIII., we have the following entry connected with Katharine Parr's appointment to this important trust:—

"First, touching the queen's highness and my lord prince. The king's majesty hath resolved, that the queen's highness shall be regent in his grace's absence, and that his highness' process shall pass and bear test in her name, as in like cases heretofore hath been accustomed."

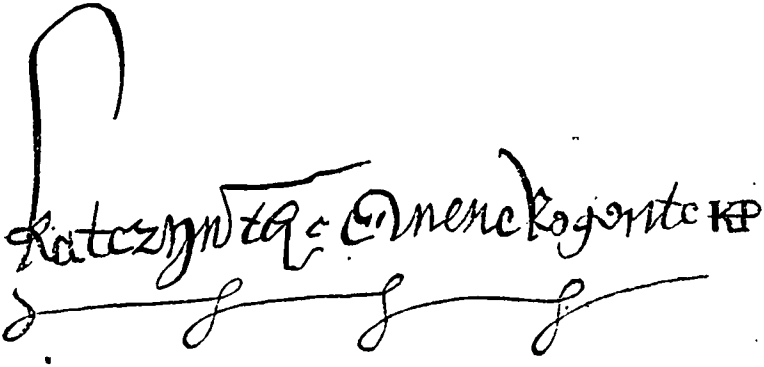
The earl of Hertford was ordered to be ever attendant on the person of Katharine, and resident in her court; but if he could not conveniently be there, then Cranmer

[1] Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII. Herbert.
[2] State Paper MSS. Acts of Privy Council.

was for the time to remain with her grace, and with them sir William Petre, and lord Parr,[1] of Horton, were to sit in council. Wriothesley and the bishop of Westminster were in this junto.

In the queen's commission of regency, Hertford was to be her lieutenant, if she needed such assistance.

Several of the queens-consort of England have exercised vice-regal power, either by usurpation or the consent of the sovereign; but Katharine Parr was the first and only one, on whom the style and title of QUEEN REGENT was solemnly conferred, and who signed herself as such, as the *fac-simile* from her official autograph witnesses:



The initials K. P., for Katharine Parr, which are attached to all her regal signatures, prove that neither her elevation to a throne nor the distinction of the highest title of honour that had ever been borne by a female in England, had rendered her unwilling to remember her simple patronymic.

In the true spirit of a Christian, queen Katharine entered upon her high office by imploring the Divine

[1] Queen Katharine's uncle, and lord chamberlain.

protection for her royal husband and his realm in the following prayer, which she composed for their use:[1]—

"O Almighty King and Lord of Hosts! which by thy angels thereunto appointed dost minister both war and peace, who didst give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unversed and inexpert in feats of war, with his sling to set upon and overthrow the great huge Goliath, our cause now being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battail, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of Hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt. Or else grant, O Lord, that with small effusion of blood and little damage of innocents, we may to thy glory obtain victory, and that the wars being soon ended, we may all, with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and amity, laud and praise Thee who livest and reignest world without end.—Amen."

On the 14th of July, 1544, king Henry crossed the seas from Dover to Calais, in a ship with sails of cloth of gold.[2] On the 25th he took the field in person, armed at all points, mounted on a great courser, and so rode out of Calais with a princely train, attended by sir William Herbert, the queen's brother-in-law, bearing his head-piece and spear, and followed by the henxmen bravely horsed and appointed. Katharine's brother, the earl of Essex, was chief captain of the men-at-arms in this expedition. On the 26th, Henry appeared before Boulogne, and took the command of his puissance there. The duke of Albuquerque, the general of the allied Spanish forces, encamped on the other side the town, and acted in conformity to the directions of the English monarch, who was the leader of the siege.[3]

The following very loving and dutiful letter appears to

[1] This beautiful aspiration for the restoration of peace is taken from a little volume, entitled "Prayers or Meditations, wherein the mynd is stirred patiently to suffer all afflictions here, to set at nought the vaine prosperite of this world, and always to long for the everlasting felicity, collected out of certaine holy workes by the most vertuous and gracious princesse Katharine, queen of England, France, and Ireland. Printed by John Wayland. 12mo, 1545."

[2] Herbert. Hall. [3] Ibid.

have been written by queen Katharine to the king, very soon after his departure from England:[1]—

"Although the distance of time and account of days neither is long nor many of your majesty's absence, yet the want of your presence, so much desired and beloved by me, maketh me that I cannot quietly pleasure in anything until I hear from your majesty. The time, therefore, seemeth to me very long, with a great desire to know how your highness hath done since your departing hence; whose prosperity and health I prefer and desire more than mine own. And whereas I know your majesty's absence is never without great need, yet love and affection compel me to desire your presence.

"Again the same zeal and affection forceth me to be best content with that which is your will and pleasure.

"Thus love maketh me in all things to set apart mine own convenience and pleasure, and to embrace most joyfully his will and pleasure whom I love. God, the knower of secrets, can judge these words not to be only written with *ynke*, but most truly impressed on the heart. Much more I omit, lest it be thought I go about to praise myself or crave a thank. Which thing to do I mind nothing less—but a plain, simple relation of the love and zeal I bear your majesty, proceeding from the abundance of the heart. Wherein I must confess I desire no commendation, having such just occasion to do the same.

"I make like account with your majesty as I do with God, for his benefits and gifts heaped upon me daily (*somewhat idolatrous this*), acknowledging myself a great debtor to him, not being able to recompense the least of his benefits. In which state I am certain and sure to die; yet I hope in his gracious acceptation of my good will. Even such confidence have I in your majesty's gentleness; knowing myself never to have done my duty as were requisite and meet for such a noble prince, at whose hands I have found and received so much love and goodness, that with words I cannot express it.

"Lest I should be too tedious to your majesty, I finish this my scribbled letter, committing you to the governance of the Lord, with long and prosperous life here, and after this life to enjoy the kingdom of his elect.

"From Greenwich, by your majesty's humble and obedient wife and servant,

"KATERYN THE QUEEN, K. P."

A grateful and a loyal spirit pervades this letter. That the queen had both felt and expressed much anxiety for the safety of her royal husband, as well as for the success

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. ii., pp. 331, 332.

of his expedition, may be gathered from the following hypocritical passage in one of Wriothesley's letters to her majesty :—" God is able to strength his own against the devil, and therefore let not the queen's majesty in any wise trouble herself, for God shall turn all to the best; and sure we be that the king's majesty's person is out of all danger."[1]

A fragment of one of king Henry's letters to queen Katharine Parr has been preserved, in which he details with soldier-like plainness, to his fair regent at home, the auspicious progress of his campaign on the hostile shores of France. The manner in which he names his family to Katharine is very interesting, considering their relative positions, and implies much for the amiable conduct of the royal step-mother. Henry VIII. with all his faults, wrote very pleasant letters, and this is one of his best :—

" At the closing up of these our letters this day, the castle before named with the dyke is at our command, and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again, as we trust, not doubting, with God's grace, but that the castle and town shall shortly follow the same trade, for as this day, which is the eighth of September, we begin three batteries, and have three more going, beside one which hath done his execution, in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving we pray you to give in our name our hearty blessings to all our children, and recommendations to our cousin Marget[2] and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our council also. Written with the hand of your loving husband,

" Henry R."

During the absence of the king in France, queen Katharine and her royal step-children appear to have resided together as one family. In September, the young Edward and his sisters were under her careful guardianship at Oking, whence, in consequence of the pestilence

[1] State Paper MSS.
[2] His niece, the lady Margaret Douglas.

then raging, she issued her mandate to the mayor and sheriffs :—

"To make proclamation that, since, on account of the plague, great danger might arise to her, the prince, and the king's other children, no person in whose house the plague had been, or who may have been with any infected person, or may have lived near any place where the infection had been, should go to court, or suffer any attendants on the court to enter his house where the infection is, under the queen's indignation and further punishment at her pleasure. From Okinge."[1]

If aught but good had befallen the dearly-prized heir of England during the absence of the king, a fearful reckoning would have awaited queen Katharine from her jealous and unreasonable lord, on his return. No wonder that her anxiety for the safety of this precious trust impelled her to the use of arbitrary measures to preserve the royal household from the danger of infection.

Among the few existing documents connected with the regency of Katharine Parr, there is in the Cottonian collection an inedited letter to her council, headed "Katharine, queen regente, K. P.," in favour of her trusty and well-beloved servant, Henry Webbe, gentleman usher of her privy chamber, requesting that the king's grant of the nunnery and demesne of Hollywell, which had been given to him at the surrender of the said nunnery, but only in part fulfilled, might be carried into effect on the modified terms of allowing him to purchase that portion of the demesne which had been withheld from him. Her majesty concludes in the following persuasive strain :—

"We shall heartily desire and pray you to be favourable to him at this our earnest request . . and in declaring whereof, your kind and loving friendship towards him effectually, at the contemplation of these our letters, we shall gratefully accept it, and also thankfully remember it whensoever occasion shall serve us to do you pleasure.[2]

"Given under our signet at my lord the king's majesty's honour of Hampton Court, the 23rd of July, and the thirty-sixth of his highness's most noble reign."

[1] See MS. Harl., 442, fol. 207.
[2] MS. Cott. Vespas. F. iii. fol. 17.

It is to be observed of Katharine Parr, that she never omitted an opportunity, either public or private, of offering the homage of a compliment to her formidable consort.

On the 14th of September, Boulogne surrendered after a fierce siege; and on the 18th, king Henry made his triumphant entry into the town. On the 19th of September, the council, by command of the queen regent, issued a general order "that a public thanksgiving should be offered up to Almighty God in all the towns and villages throughout England, for the taking of Boulogne."[1] This was one of the last acts of queen Katharine Parr's regency, for the king returned to England October 1st, finding it impossible to follow up his victorious career in France, because his Spanish allies had made a separate peace with Francis I. Katharine had governed with such prudence during the brief period in which the sovereign power of the crown had been confided to her administration, as to leave no cause of complaint to either party.

It was in all probability after Henry's return from his victorious campaign in France, that the interesting family group in her majesty's collection at Hampton Court, which forms the subject of the vignette to this volume, was painted by Hans Holbein. In this splendid picture, the design of which appears to have been intended to introduce all the members of the royal house of Tudor, as a united family, Henry is enthroned beneath his canopy of state, with his consort at his left hand; but instead of Katharine Parr, a pale spectral resemblance of Jane Seymour occupies the queenly place at Henry's side. The attitude and expression of the dead queen's face and figure are as rigid and inanimate, as if it had been the intention of the painter to represent her as a corpse newly taken from the grave,

[1] Lingard.

clad in royal robes, and seated in jewelled pomp among the living. There is little doubt but that the delineation was made from the wax effigy[1] which was carried at her funeral. She bears a mournful, and almost startling likeness to her son, prince Edward, a beautiful boy of eight years old, who leans on his father in a caressing attitude. With his right arm, the king embraces his son, and his hand rests on his shoulder. The princesses Mary and Elizabeth are entering on opposite sides, as if to offer filial homage to the royal pair. The scene appears to be on the dais of Wolsey's hall, with a view of one of the turrets through a side window.

The picture is richly emblazoned with gold, and the costumes are peculiarly gorgeous, and characteristic of the time. Henry's gown of scarlet and gold brocade is girded to his waist, with a white satin sash, in which the hilt of his jewelled dagger is seen. The skirts of the gown are short, very full, and edged with gold. It is slashed on the breast in five or six longitudinal rows, with puffs of white satin, confined with gold clasps. Over this he wears a magnificent collar of twisted pearls, with ruby medallions, a dalmatica with hanging sleeves, lined with sables, and edged with pearls, is thrown on his shoulder. His hat is of black velvet, adorned with pearls, and edged with the drooping white feather, which is always characteristic of the costume of this monarch, and also of his son. Henry's hose and shoes are of white satin, and he wears on his breast a large medallion jewel, having the appearance of a watch. The prince wears a crimson velvet cap, jewelled and plumed, but his hair is so arranged as to have the unpicturesque effect of a brown silk scull cap, or a little bob-wig. He has a gold chain about his neck, and is dressed in a gown of dark red damask, striped

[1] See its description, 2nd edition of vol. iv., Life of Jane Seymour.

with gold, and arranged in heavy plaits, from the throat to the waist, where it is confined by a narrow belt. The skirt is full, and descends below the knees, his garment is much padded and stiffened; it has hanging sleeves open to the shoulders, beneath which are very full sleeves of white satin, fantastically slashed with scarlet velvet. His hose and shoes are of scarlet. The faded statue-like representation of his dead mother appears in the pointed cloth-of-gold hood edged with pearls, precisely like that worn by Jane Seymour in life, but which had been superseded by the pretty low French hood introduced by Katharine Howard, and adopted by Katharine Parr and her ladies. The two princesses are each represented in the same picture in the round hood, according to the prevailing fashion of their royal stepmother's court, of crimson velvet, edged with pearls, similar to that worn by queen Katharine Parr in the Strawberry-hill miniature, only not surmounted with so rich a coronal band of jewels. This peculiarity of the costume marks the miniature of Katharine to have been painted at the same period as the Holbein family group, if not by the same artist. The hair of Jane Seymour, and of the two princesses in this picture, as well as that of Katharine Parr in the Strawberry-hill miniature, are all of the golden tint, which appears the universal colour in all the Holbein portraits of the last three years of Henry VIII.'s reign. A singular freak of nature, we should say, were it not well known that an imitation of the envied *chiome d'oro* was produced by the use of a bright yellow powder then in vogue. In some instances folds of amber-coloured velvet were worn by the elder ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, arranged like crossed bands of hair, so as to give a great appearance of breadth to the forehead under the low French hood.

In Holbein's family group, the princesses Mary and

Elizabeth are dressed precisely alike, in kirtles or close-fitting gowns of rich crimson velvet, with long sleeves, finished at the hands with ruffles, and slashed with puffs of white satin from the wrists to the elbows. Over these they wear flowing robes of gold brocade, with hanging sleeves and sweeping trains. Their boddices fit tightly to the shape, and are cut rather low and square across the bust; they are edged with pearls. Both sisters wear double rows of pearls about their necks, supporting small ruby crosses.

Elizabeth is a tall, full-proportioned, lovely girl, of womanly appearance. Mary is much smaller, and more delicate in form and features; she has the melancholy cast of countenance which sickness and early sorrow had rendered natural to her.

In this painting, contemporary portraits of four Tudor sovereigns—Henry VIII., Edward VI., queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, with the posthumous portrait of Henry's favourite queen, Jane Seymour—are assembled together in the splendid costume of the era embraced in the fourth and fifth volumes of "The Lives of the Queens of England."

The circumstance of Katharine Parr permitting her deceased predecessor to take her place in the royal *tableau* is very remarkable. Few ladies, indeed, there are who would not have regarded the proposal of being thus superseded as a decided affront; but Katharine Parr was too generous to be jealous of a compliment offered to the dead queen, and far too prudent to oppose her royal spouse in any of his whims, however unreasonable.

That Katharine Parr was in the full enjoyment of Henry's favour at this period, may be inferred from the consideration with which her kindred were treated, although she was herself cautious of giving cause of

disgust to the old nobility, or envy to the climbing courtiers, by obtaining lavish grants of money and lands, or a plurality of offices for her own family. Just such a meed of patronage was bestowed on her brother, her uncle, and her sister's husband, as evinced her affection, and the respect of the king for her relatives, but no more. Three of her young kinsmen, the Throckmortons, followed the banner of the sovereign in the French campaign. George was made prisoner, and a thousand pounds was demanded by the captor for his ransom, on account of his consanguinity to her majesty. After he had remained a year in captivity, the queen exerted herself for his redemption. The scene of his return, and the preferment that followed at court, is thus pleasantly described by his nephew in the Throckmorton MS. :—

"When first in presence chamber he was come,
The king said to him, 'Welcome to our grace;
I know thou lovest the alarum of a drum,
I see the marks of manhood in thy face.'
He, humbly kneeling, thanked his majesty
That he did see him set at liberty.

"And often after that the king would jest
And call him cousin in his merry mood,
Because, therefore, the Frenchmen had assest
His fine so high, which turned him to good.
His foes did say, in serving he was free,
And for reward the prince gave land in fee.

"Then none of us did unrewarded go,
I had a gift yearly worth fifty pound,
Which I record because thou shouldest know
I hate received benefits to drown;
Besides, I had a stipend for my life,
Who shortly left the court and took a wife.

"And now, because the king and queen did use,
By friendly signs, their liking to display,

What men our company would then refuse?
Our betters then with us did seek to stay.
For lo! it is a path to dignity
With Cæsar's friend to be in amity.

"Then Pembroke and his wife, who sister was
Unto the queen, their kinsfolk friended much,
And Parr their brother did them both surpass,
Who for to pleasure us did never grutch.
When these did call us cousin, at each word
The other peers would friendly speech afford."

Soon after the king's return from France, the queen's uncle, Parr of Horton, resigned his office of lord chamberlain, and his place in the council; and though greatly urged by Henry and Katharine to continue to assist them with his experience and advice, he sighed for the quiet of private life; preferring, to the honours that beset him in his niece's court, he said, "the pious, peaceable, hospitable way of the country, where popularity affected him more than he sought it," no man being more beloved by the commonalty.[1]

[1] Fuller. In Horton church, Northampton, is a fine monument to William, lord Parr, 1546, a recumbent statue in armour, in alabaster, with another of his lady, Mary Salusbury. He obtained this manor by his marriage, being uncle to queen Katharine Parr.

KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Difficult position of queen Katharine with reference to sir Thomas Seymour—Her zeal for the Scriptures—Patronage of Coverdale—Preserves the university of Cambridge from sequestration—Her letter to that university—Her attentions to the king—Prince Edward's letter to her—Wriothesley and Gardiner's jealousy of the queen's influence—Her patronage of Anne Askew denounced—Tortures inflicted on Anne—Her refusal to betray the queen—Plot against the queen—Henry takes umbrage at Katharine's sincerity—Complains of her to Gardiner—He induces the king to have articles of impeachment framed—Katharine discovers the plot—Her terror and dangerous illness—Henry visits her—Her prudent conduct—Reconciliation with the king—His anger against her enemies—King's renewed fondness for queen Katharine—His illness and death—Honourable mention of Katharine in his will—Katharine prayed for as queen dowager—King Edward's letter of condolence to her—King Henry's funeral—Queen Katharine's residence at Chelsea—Sir Thomas Seymour renews his suit—Their correspondence and meetings—Privately married—Katharine's jewels detained by Somerset—Her anger—Duchess of Somerset disputes precedency with queen Katharine—Seymour's freedom with the princess Elizabeth—Katharine's displeasure—Katharine goes to Sudeley to lie in—Birth of her daughter—Her dangerous illness—Complaints to lady Tyrwhitt—Agitating scene in her chamber—She dies—Her funeral—Lady Jane Gray chief mourner—Her epitaph—Seymour's proceedings after her death—His attainder and execution—Destitution of queen Katharine's infant—Sent to the duchess of Suffolk—Her letters—Traditions—Relics of queen Katharine Parr—Exhumation of her remains—Present state of her grave.

ONE great trial, we may add, peril, of Katharine Parr's queenly life was the frequent presence of her former lover,

Sir Thomas Seymour, who was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. The contrast between his person and demeanour and those of her royal lord must have been painfully apparent at times to Katharine. She was surrounded with invidious spies withal, who would have been only too happy to be able to report a word, a look, or even a sigh, to the king, as evidence of her preference for the handsome Seymour; but the high principles and consummate prudence of the queen carried her triumphantly through an ordeal which some princesses might not have escaped without loss of life and fame. The conduct of Seymour was rash, inconsistent, and selfish. He was the most restless, and at the same time the most blundering of intriguers. He had shared in the spoils of the sequestered abbeys, though in a lesser degree than his brother, the earl of Hertford, and was one of those who would have tempted the king to appropriate the revenues of the bishops. It was, however, necessary to find some cause of complaint with that body; and, according to Fox, he began at the fountain head. "Sir Thomas Seymour," says our author, "who waited on the king, not much favouring Cranmer, accused him of wasting his revenues, and retrenching all hospitality, in order to gather riches for his wife and children,[1] and that such stipends would be no small profit to his majesty." About a fortnight afterwards, one day the king having washed before going to dinner, and Sir Thomas Seymour holding the basin, he said to him, "Go you out of hand to my lord of Canterbury, and bid him be with me at two o'clock, and fail not."

When Seymour went to Lambeth, he found the great hall set out for dinner, and the usual hospitality going forward; and being invited by Cranmer to dine, at which meal all proceeded with the usual state of the former

[1] Fox. Folio, book ii. 524, 525.

archbishops, Sir Thomas Seymour presently divined that he had been sent on purpose; and after delivering his message, went back to the king in great haste.

"Ho!" said Henry, when he saw him, "dined you not with my lord of Canterbury?"

Sir Thomas Seymour spied a portentous cloud on the royal brow, as he replied, "That I did, your majesty, and he will be with your highness forthwith;" then falling on his knees, he added, "I beseech your majesty to pardon me, for I have of late told you an untruth concerning my lord of Canterbury's housekeeping; but I will never henceforth believe the knave which did put that vain tale in my head, for never did I see in my life so honourable a hall set in the realm, except your majesty's, or so well furnished, according to each degree, and himself also most honourably served." "Ah! sir," quoth the king, "have you now spied the truth? But I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you whom I have liberally given of suppressed monasteries, which, as you have lightly gotten, so you have unthriftily spent—some at dice,[1] other some in gay apparel, and otherways worse, I fear; and now all is gone, you would fain have me make another *chevisance* (gratuity) of the bishops' lands, to satisfy your greedy appetites."

Far different from this worldly self-seeking spirit was the disinterested devotion of the queen to the cause of the Reformation. With nothing to gain, and everything to lose by her religion, she courageously maintained the opinions to which she had become a convert; and in her zeal for the translation of the Holy Scriptures, left no means untried for the accomplishment of that good work. She appointed Miles Coverdale to the office of her al-

[1] The king himself lost 300*l.* at a sitting with Edward Seymour, elder brother to this man. The Seymours seem the greatest gamblers at court. (See Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., many items.)

moner,[1] and rendered him every assistance in his labour of love. Even that determined pillar of the olden faith, the princess Mary, her step-daughter, was won upon by Katharine to co-operate partially in the undertaking, as will be shewn in the memoir of that queen —a circumstance which proves how resistless in their gentleness must have been the manners of the royal matron, whom the Protestant church may well regard as its glory.

The learned Nicholas Udal, master of Eton school, was employed by Katharine Parr to edite the translations of Erasmus's Paraphrases on the Four Gospels; in the labour of which the Princess Mary was induced by her royal step-mother to take an active share.

The queen thus addresses the princess Mary on the expediency of appending her name to her translation:—

"I beseech you to send me this beautiful and *useful* work, when corrected by Mallet, or some other of your household; and at the same time let me know whether it shall be published under your own name or anonymously. In my own opinion, you will not do justice to a work in which you have taken such infinite pains for the public (and would have still continued to do so, as is well known, had your health permitted it), if you refuse to let it descend to posterity under the sanction of your name. For, since everybody is aware what fatigue you have undergone in its accomplishment, I do not see why you should refuse the praise that all will deservedly offer you in return."[2]

[1] Miles Coverdale was an Augustinian monk, of Danish family, converted to the Protestant faith. He was patronized by Cromwell, and appointed by Katharine Parr as her almoner, and he was such when she died. He was bishop of Exeter, but ejected from his see by queen Mary, who, by an act of council, in 1554, allowed him to pass to Denmark, with two servants and bag and baggage. He returned during Elizabeth's reign, but refused to assume his bishopric, and died peaceably at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in St. Bartholomew's church. A search for his bones took place, August, 1840; his coffin was found, and transferred to St. Magnus's church, London-bridge, his original cure.

[2] Translated by sir F. Madden, from the original Latin. Katharine Parr's letter is dated from Hanworth, September 20th, 1544. The original is in MS. Cottonian Faustina, F. 111.

The first edition of these paraphrases, (of which so important a use was afterwards made by Cranmer and Somerset,) was published, according to Strype, in 1545, at the sole expense of Queen Katharine Parr.

In his dedication to his royal patroness, Udal remarks, "on the great number of noble women at that time in England given to the study of devout science and of strange tongues. 'It was a common thing," he quaintly adds, "to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set all other pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It was now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance to embrace virtuous exercises, reading and writing, and with most earnest study, early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge."

Fortunately for Katharine Parr and those fair and gentle students, who were encouraged by the example of that learned queen to seek the paths of knowledge, they flourished in days when the acquirements of ladies were regarded as their glory, not their reproach. Learning in women was then considered next unto holiness; and the cultivation of the female mind was hailed by the wise, the good, the noble of England, as a proof of the increasing refinement of the land. In later centuries, invidious ignorance has succeeded in flinging the brand of vulgar opprobrium on such women as Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Udal, and Ascham, all but deified. Margaret Roper, Katharine Parr, and the divine Lady Jane Gray, would inevitably have been stigmatized as *blue-stockings*, if they had lived in the nineteenth instead of the sixteenth century.

When Katharine Parr was first called to the unenviable distinction of sharing the throne of Henry VIII., the poverty of the crown precluded the king from indulging his love of pomp and pageantry in any of the public

fêtes and rejoicings which had been so frequent in the first thirty years of his reign. The expense of a coronation for the new queen was out of the question; and though she was dowered in the same proportion as her predecessors had been, it must have been a source of comfort to Katharine that she enjoyed a fine income as the widow of lord Borough and lord Latimer, independently of her royal allowance as queen-consort of England. Henry's pecuniary distresses had led him to the fallacious expedient of raising the nominal value of the currency of the realm, and afterwards of issuing a fresh coinage, in which the proportion of alloy exceeded that of the silver. This purblind proceeding gave the death-blow to trade, by ruining the national credit, and involved himself, his subjects, and successors, in tenfold difficulties.[1]

In the autumn of 1545, Henry claimed the assistance of parliament; but the subsidy granted not satisfying the rapacious and needy sovereign, the revenues of all the hospitals and colleges in England were placed at his disposal by the time-serving and venial legislators of whom it was composed.[2] The university of Cambridge, dreading the spoliation with which it was threatened, implored the protection of their learned queen.[3] Katharine, who was not forgetful of the affection and respect which had been ever manifested for her person and character by this erudité body, exerted her utmost influence with her royal husband to avert the storm that impended over that ancient nursery of learning and piety. The letter in which her majesty informs the members of the university of the success of her intercession with the king in their behalf, is exceedingly curious; and the advice she offers as to the nature of their studies is equally creditable to her head and heart.

[1] Herbert. Stow. [2] Herbert. Hall. [3] Strype.

LETTER FROM QUEEN KATHARINE PARR.[1]

"*To our right trusty, dear, and well-beloved the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of my lord the King's Majesty's university of Cambridge, and to the whole said university there.*

"Your letters I have received presented on all your behalfs, by Mr. Dr. Smythe, your discreet and learned advocate.[2] And as they be *Latinly* written which is *singnyfyed* unto me by those that be learned in the Latin tongue. So (I know) you could have uttered your desires and opinions familiarly in your vulgar tongue, aptest for my intelligence, albeit you seem to have conceived, rather partially than truly, a favourable estimation both of my going forward and dedication to learning, which to advance, or at least conserve, your letters move me."

This passage must not be considered by the reader as any contradiction of her attainments as a Latin scholar, because, notwithstanding her denial of learning, the queen meant not to be taken at her word as ignorant of the language in which the university has addressed her; for she uses, in the course of the letter, a very apt Latin quotation. She rather means to imply an evangelical objection to the use of Latin, as liable to induce the continuance of "papistry." And perhaps the preference that Cambridge has shewn to the mathematics may be traced to the royal exordium which follows against the vain learning of the ancients. Her majesty resumes—

"You shew me how agreeable it is to me, being in this worldly estate, not only for mine own part to be studious, but also a maintainer and cherisher of the learned state, bearing me in hand, (insisting) that I am endowed and perfected with those qualities which *ought to be in a person of my station.*

"Truly this your discreet and politic document I as thankfully accept as you desire that I should embrace it. And forasmuch (as I do hear) all kind of learning doth flourish among you in this age as it did amongst the Greeks at Athens long ago. I desire you all not so to

[1] Quoted by Strype; to be found at length in Statutes of Cambridge, by H. J. Heywood, F.R.S., vol. i., p. 211.

[2] The University of Cambridge addressed their letters to queen Katharine Parr, by Dr. Smith, afterwards sir Thomas Smith, the learned secretary to Edward VI.

hunger for the exquisite knowledge of profane learning, that it may be thought that the Greek university was but transposed, or now in England revived, *forgetting our Christianity*; since their excellency did only attain to moral and natural things. But rather, I gently exhort you to study and apply those doctrines, as means and apt degrees, to the attaining and setting forth Christ's reverent and sacred doctrine, that it may not be laid against you in evidence at the tribunal of God,[1] how you were ashamed of Christ's doctrine, for this *Latin lesson I am* taught to say of St. Paul, *Non me pudet evangelii*, to the sincere setting forth whereof (I trust) universally in all your vocations and ministries you will apply; and conform your sundry gifts, arts, and studies in such end and sort, that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of divine philosophy than of natural and moral, as Athens was. Upon the confidence of which your accomplishment of my expectation, zeal, and request, I (according to your desires) have *attempted* my lord the king for the establishment of your livelihood and possessions, in which (notwithstanding his majesty's property and interest, through the consent of the high court of parliament,) his highness being such a patron to good learning, doth hinder you so much, that he would rather advance learning and erect new occasion thereof than confound your ancient and godly institutions, so that such learning may hereafter ascribe her very original whole conservation to our sovereign lord the king, her only defence and worthy ornament, the prosperous estate and princely government of whom long to preserve; I doubt not but every one of you will in the daily invocation call upon him, who alone and only can dispose to every creature. Scribbled with the rude hand of her that prayeth to the Lord and immortal God to send you all prosperous success in godly learning and knowledge. From my lord the king's majesty's manor of Greenwich, the 26 Feb.

"KATHARINE THE QUEEN, K. P."[2]

The triumph which Katharine Parr's virtuous influence obtained in this instance over the sordid passions of Henry and his greedy ministers, ought to endear the name of the royal patroness of learning to every mind capable of appreciating her magnanimity and moral courage. The beauty, the talents, and rare acquirements of Katharine Parr, together with the delicate

[1] Here the queen displays much in the style of her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, the learning she has so elaborately disclaimed.

[2] MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 206. This letter is quoted by Strype.

tact which taught her how to make the most of these advantages, enabled her to retain her empire over the fickle heart of Henry for a longer period than the fairest and most brilliant of her predecessors. But these charms were not the most powerful talismans with which the queen won her influence. It was her domestic virtues, her patience, her endearing manners, that rendered her indispensable to the irritable and diseased voluptuary, who was now paying the severe penalty of bodily tortures and mental disquiet for the excesses of his former life. Henry had grown so corpulent and unwieldy in person, that he was incapable of taking the slightest exercise, much less of recreating himself with the invigorating field sports and boisterous pastimes in which he had formerly delighted. The days had come unexpectedly upon him in which he had no pleasure. His body was so swollen and enfeebled by dropsy, that he could not be moved to an upper chamber without the aid of machinery. Hitherto the excitement of playing the leading part in the public drama of royal pomp and pageantry, had been, with sensual indulgences, the principal objects of his life. Deprived of these, and with the records of an evil conscience to dwell upon in the weary hours of pain, his irascibility and impatience would have goaded him to frenzy, but for the soothing gentleness and tender attentions of his amiable consort. Katharine was the most skilful and patient of nurses, and shrunk not from any office, however humble, whereby she could afford mitigation to the sufferings of her royal husband. It is recorded of her, that she would remain for hours on her knees beside him, applying fomentations and other palliatives to his ulcerated leg, which he would not permit any one to dress but her. She had already served an apprenticeship to the infirmities of sickness, in her attendance on the deathbeds of her two previous hus-

bands, and had doubtless acquired the art of adapting herself to the humours of male invalids. A royally-born lady might have been of little comfort to Henry in the days of his infirmity, but Katharine Parr had been educated in the school of domestic life, and was perfect in the practice of its virtues and its duties. She sought to charm the *ennui* which oppressed the once magnificent and active sovereign, in the unwelcome quiet of his sick chamber, by inducing him to unite with her in directing the studies and watching the hopeful promise of his beloved heir, prince Edward. The following letter, addressed to Katharine by her royal step-son, bears witness to the maternal kindness of the queen, and the affection of the precocious student:—

PRINCE EDWARD TO KATHARINE PARR.

"Most honourable and entirely beloved mother,

"I have me most humbly recommended to your grace with like thanks, both for that your grace did accept so gently my simple and rude letters, and also that it pleased your grace so gently to vouchsafe to direct unto me your loving and tender letters, which do give me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such things, wherein your grace beareth me on hand that I am already entered. I pray God I may be able to satisfy the good expectation of the king's majesty, my father, and of your grace, whom God have ever in his most blessed keeping.

"Your loving son,

"E. PRINCE."

There is extant a Latin and a French letter addressed to the queen, in the same filial style.

The arrival of the plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace between England and France, in the commencement of the year 1546, caused the last gleam of royal festivity and splendour that was ever to enliven the once magnificent court of Henry VIII. Claude d'Annebaut, the admiral who had a few months previously attempted a hostile descent on the Isle of Wight, and attacked the English fleet, was the ambassador extraordinary on this

occasion. He was received with great pomp at Greenwich, where he landed, and on Hounslow-heath he was met by a numerous cavalcade of nobles, knights, and gentlemen, in king Henry's service, headed by the young heir of England, prince Edward, who, though only in his ninth year, was mounted on a charger, and performed his part in the pageant by welcoming the admiral and his suite in the most graceful and engaging manner. Annebaut embraced and kissed the princely boy, and all the French nobles were loud in their commendations of the beauty and gallant bearing of this child of early promise. Prince Edward then conducted the embassy to Hampton Court, where for ten days they were feasted and entertained with great magnificence by the king and queen. Henry, on this occasion, presented Katharine Parr with many jewels of great value, that she might appear with suitable *éclat* as his consort before the plenipotentiaries of France. He also provided new and costly hangings and furniture for her apartments, as well as plate, which she naturally regarded as her own property; but a long and vexatious litigation took place, with regard to these gifts, after the death of the king, as will be shewn in its proper place.

The increasing influence of Katharine with king Henry, and the ascendancy she was acquiring over the opening mind of the future sovereign, were watched with jealous alarm by the party most inimical to the doctrines of the Reformation. Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, who had been the base suggester to Henry VIII. of a breach of faith to Anne of Cleves, and afterwards pursued that monarch's fifth unhappy queen with the zest of a bloodhound,[1] till her young head was laid upon the block, waited but for a suitable opportunity for effecting the fall of Katharine Parr.

[1] See the Memoirs of Anne of Cleves and Katharine Howard.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was his confederate in this intention; but so blameless was the conduct, so irreproachable the manners of the queen, that, as in the case of Daniel, it was impossible for her deadliest foes to find an occasion against her, except in the matter of her religious opinions. In these she was opposed to Henry's arbitrary notions, who was endeavouring to erect the dogma of his own infallibility on the ruins of papacy. Every dissent from his decisions in points of faith had been visited with the most terrible penalties. In his last speech to parliament, he had bitterly complained of the divisions in religion which distracted his realm, for which he "partly blamed the priests, some of whom," he sarcastically observed, "were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*, that, instead of preaching the word of God, they were employed in railing at each other;[1] and partly the fault of the laity, whose delight it was to censure the proceedings of their bishops, priests, and preachers. If you know," continued the royal polemic, "that any preach perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours; and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions. And although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do only to inform your conscience, your children, and families, and not to dispute, and to make scripture a railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every

[1] Hall.

alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same."[1]

This speech was a prelude to the rigorous enforcement of the six articles. The most interesting victim of the fiery persecution that ensued in the spring and summer of 1546, was the young, beautiful, and learned Anne Askew. She was a lady of honourable birth and ancient lineage, and having become a convert to the new learning, was for that cause violently driven from her home by her husband, Mr. Kyme of Lincolnshire; she then resumed her maiden name, and devoted herself to the promulgation of the religious opinions she had embraced. It was soon known that the queen's sister, lady Herbert, the duchess of Suffolk, and other great ladies of the court, countenanced the fair gospeller—nay, more, that the queen herself had received books from her in the presence of lady Herbert, lady Tyrwhit, and the youthful lady Jane Gray, which might bring her majesty under the penalty of the statute against reading heretical works.[2] The religious opinions of a young and beautiful woman might, perhaps, have been overlooked by men, with whom religion was a matter of party, not conscience; but the supposed connexion of Anne Askew with the queen, caused her to be singled out for the purpose of terrifying or torturing her into confessions that might furnish a charge of heresy or treason against her royal mistress. The unexpected firmness of the Christian heroine baffled this design; she endured the utmost inflictions of Wriothesley's vindictive fury without permitting a syllable to pass her lips that might be rendered subservient to this purpose.

Anne Askew had been supported in prison by money which had been conveyed to her, from time to time, by persons supposed to be in the service of the ladies of

[1] Journals of Parliament. [2] Fox.

the queen's bedchamber; and the lord chancellor's inquisitorial cruelty was especially exercised in his attempts to extort from the hapless recipient of this charity the name of her secret friends.[1]

It is well known that when sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant of the Tower, endeavoured, by his directions to the gaoler, to modify the ferocious, and it seems illegal requisition of chancellor Wriothesley, to inflict severer agonies on the tender but unshrinking victim, his lordship threw off his gown, and, with the assistance of his pitiless accomplice, Rich, worked the rack, till, to use Anne's own words, they well nigh plucked her joints asunder. When the lieutenant of the Tower found his authority thus superseded, he promptly took boat, and proceeding to the king, indignantly related to him the disgusting scene he had just witnessed.

Henry affected to express great displeasure that a female should have been exposed to such barbarity, but he neither punished the perpetrators of the outrage nor interposed his authority to preserve Anne Askew from a fiery death. Indeed, if the contemporary author quoted by Speed is to be credited, "Henry had himself ordered Anne Askew to be stretched on the rack, being exasperated against her for having brought prohibited books into his palace, and imbued his queen and his nieces, Suffolk's daughters, with her doctrine."

The terrible sentence which consigned the dislocated frame of the young and lovely Anne Askew a living prey to the flames, shook not the lofty self-devotion of the victim. Several persons professing the reformed doctrine were condemned to die at the same time, among whom were two gentlemen of the royal household, William Morrice, the king's gentleman usher, and sir George Blagge, of the privy chamber. The following

[1] Fox's Martyrology.

touching particulars of their last meeting have been recorded by a survivor:—

"I, being alive," narrates John Loud, (tutor to sir Robert Southwell, and a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn,) "must needs confess of her departed to the Lord." There was a sad party of victims, and their undaunted friends gathered in the little parlour by Newgate. Sir George Blagge was with Lascells (a gentleman of a right worshipful house in Nottinghamshire, at Gatford, near Worksop) the day before his execution and that of Anne Askew, "who had," says the narrator, "an angel's countenance and a smiling face." Lascells was in the little parlour by Newgate; "he mounted up in the window seat, and there sat; he was merry and cheerful in the Lord, and sir George Blagge sat by his side: one Belenian, a priest, likewise burnt, was there. Three of the Throckmortons were present, sir Nicolas being one of them. By the same token a person unknown to me said, 'Ye are all marked men that come to them. Take heed to your lives.'"[1]

The Throckmortons were, be it remembered, the near kinsmen of the queen, and confidential members of her household. They were her élèves, and converts, withal, to the faith of which she was the nursing mother. Undismayed by the warning they had received when they came to comfort Anne Askew and her fellow captives in prison, these heroic brethren ventured to approach her, when she was borne to her funeral pile in Smithfield, for the purpose of offering her sympathy and encouragement; but they were again warned "that they were marked men," and compelled to withdraw.[2] In a far different spirit came Wriothesley, Russell, and others of the ruthless clique, to witness the last act of the tragedy,[3] and to

[1] Strype. Mems., p. 599. [2] Aikin's Elizabeth.

[3] This amiable junto were seated on a bench by St. Bartholomew's church, and expressed some alarm lest their persons should be endan-

tempt the weakness of woman's nature by offering her the king's pardon on condition of her recanting. She treated the proposal with the scorn it merited, and her fearless demeanour encouraged and strengthened the resolution of the three men who shared with her the crown of martyrdom.

The male victims were not subjected to torture. They appear to have suffered on matters of faith, unconnected with politics. Anne Askew may be regarded as a sacrifice to the malignity of the party who failed in making her an instrument in their machinations against the queen.

The terror and anguish which must have oppressed the heart of the queen at this dreadful period may be imagined. Not only was she unable to avert the fate of the generous Anne Askew and the other Protestant martyrs, but she was herself, with some of her nearest and dearest connexions, on the verge of the like peril.

Sir George Blagge, who was involved in the same condemnation with Anne Askew and those who suffered with her, was a great favourite with the king, who was wont to honour him, in moments of familiarity, with the endearing appellation of his "pig." Henry does not appear to have been aware of Blagge's arrest till informed of his condemnation. He then sent for Wriothesley, and rated him "for coming so near him, even to his privy chamber," and commanded him to draw out a pardon. Blagge, on his release, flew to thank his master, who, seeing him, cried out, "Ah, my pig! are you here safe again?" "Yes, sire," said he; "and if your majesty had not been better than your bishops, your pig had been *roasted* ere this time."[1] Notwithstanding this

gered by the gunpowder among the faggots exploding. Russell reassured his colleagues, by informing them that it was only intended for the condemned prisoners.

[1] Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley. Tytler.

rebuff, Wriothesley and his coadjutors presumed to come somewhat nearer to the king than an attack on members of his household, for they struck at the wife of his bosom.

It was shrewdly observed by a contemporary, "that Gardiner had bent his bow to bring down some of the head deer." Victims of less distinguished note were destined first to fall, but it was plain to all that it was to compass the disgrace or death of the queen, that the fires of persecution had been rekindled, Wriothesley and Gardiner having masked an iniquitous political intrigue under the name of religion. The queen's sister, lady Herbert, had been secretly denounced to Henry as an active instrument in controverting his edict touching heretical works. This was a subtle prelude for an attack upon the queen herself; for when Henry had reason to suppose she received and read books forbidden by his royal statutes, he was prepared to take every difference in opinion expressed or insinuated by her in the light not only of heresy but treason.

Henry's anger was always the most deadly and dangerous when he brooded over an offence in silence. Queen Katharine had been accustomed, in their hours of domestic privacy, to converse with him on theological subjects, in which he took great delight. The points of difference in their opinions, and the ready wit and eloquence with which the queen maintained her side of the question, gave piquancy to these discussions.

Henry was at first amused and interested, but controversies between husband and wife are dangerous pastimes to the weaker vessel, especially if she chance to have the best of the argument. On subjects of less importance to his eternal welfare, Katharine might possibly have had tact enough to leave the victory to her lord; but, labouring as she saw him under a complication of incurable maladies, and loaded with a yet more fearful

weight of unrepented crimes, she must have been anxious to awaken him to a sense of his accountability to that almighty Judge at whose tribunal it was evident he must soon appear.

With the exception of his murdered tutor, Fisher, Henry's spiritual advisers, whether catholics or reformers, had all been false to their trust. They had flattered his worst passions, and lulled his guilty conscience, by crying, "Peace, peace! when there was no peace." Katharine Parr was, perhaps, the only person for the last ten years who had had the moral courage to speak, even in a modified manner, the language of truth in his presence.

Henry, who was neither catholic nor protestant, had a "*sumpsimus*" of his own, which he wished to render the national rule of faith, and was at last exceedingly displeased that his queen should presume to doubt the infallibility of his opinions. One day she ventured, in the presence of Gardiner, to remonstrate with him on the proclamation he had recently put forth, forbidding the use of a translation of the Scriptures, which he had previously licensed. This was at a time when his constitutional irascibility was aggravated by a painful inflammation of his ulcerated leg, which confined him to his chamber. Perhaps Katharine, in her zeal for the diffusion of the truths of holy writ, pressed the matter too closely, for the king shewed tokens of mislike, and cut the matter short. The queen made a few pleasant observations on other subjects, and withdrew. Henry's suppressed choler broke out as soon as she left the room. "A good hearing it is," said he, "when women become such clerks; and much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife!"[1]

Gardiner, who was present, availed himself of this

[1] Fox. Herbert. Lingard.

scornful sally to insinuate things against her majesty, which a few days before he durst not, for his life, have breathed to the king. "For," says a contemporary author, "never handmaid sought more to please her mistress than she to please his humour; and she was of singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, wherein the king was greatly delighted. But Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, and others of the king's privy chamber, practised her death, that they might the better stop the passage of the gospel, yet they durst not speak to the king touching her, because they saw he loved her so well.[1] But now that an offence had been given to the royal egotist's self-idolatry, he was ready to listen to anything that could be said in disparagement of his dutiful and conscientious wife. Her tender nursing, her unremitting attentions to his comfort, together with her amiable and affectionate conduct to his children, were all forgotten. Gardiner flattered him to the top of his bent, on his theological knowledge and judgment, in which he declared "that his majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed doctors of divinity, insomuch that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his counsellors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience;" adding, "that he could make great discoveries, if he were not deterred by the queen's powerful faction. In short, he crept so far into the king at that time," says Fox, "and he and his fellows so filled Henry's mistrustful mind with fears, that he gave them warrant to consult together about drawing of articles against the queen, wherein her *life* might be touched. Then they thought it best to begin

[1] Fox.

with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to all her doing,—as the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, her sister, the lady Jane, who was her first cousin; and the lady Tyrwhit, all of her privy chamber; and to accuse them of the six articles, and to search their closets and coffers, that they might find somewhat to charge the queen; which being found, the queen should be taken and carried by night in a barge to the Tower, of which advice the king was made privy by Gardiner. This purpose was so finely handled that it grew within few days of the time appointed, and the poor queen suspected nothing, but, after her accustomed manner, visited the king, still to deal with him touching religion as before." At this momentous crisis, when the life of the queen might be said to hang on a balance so fearfully poised that the descent of a feather would have given it a fatal turn, the bill of articles that had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, were dropped by Wriothesley from his bosom, in the gallery at Whitehall, after the royal signature of the king had been affixed. Fortunately, it happened that it was picked up by one of the attendants of the queen, and instantly conveyed to her majesty,[1] whose sweetness of temper and gracious demeanour had endeared her to all her household.

It is impossible but that shuddering recollections of the fell decree which doomed Henry's second queen, Anne Boleyn, to be either burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure, and of the summary proceedings by which his last queen, Katharine, was hurried to the block, without even the ceremony of a trial, must have pressed upon her mind as she glanced at these appalling documents. Her virtue, it is true, could not be impugned, as theirs had been, but she had disappointed the expecta-

[1] Fox's Acts and Monuments. Speed. Tytler.

tion so confidently stated by the king in the act for settling the succession to the crown, "that their union might be blessed with offspring." In that very act there was the ominous clause, in case of failure of issue by her, which secured a precedency over his daughters "to the children he might have by any other queens."

Katharine had been Henry's wife three years, and was still childless, and as she had not brought a family to either of her former husbands, the reproach of barrenness might, not unreasonably, be ascribed to her by the king. It was doubtless to the full as great a crime in his sight as her heresy, and it is not improbable that it was even cited in the list of her misdemeanours, as the untimely death of Katharine of Arragon's sons had been impiously construed into evidences that the marriage was displeasing in the sight of God, when Henry was desirous of another wife. Be that as it may, the queen no sooner perceived that a bill for her attainder was prepared, and that the king had treacherously given his sanction to the machinations of her foes, than she concluded that she was to be added to the list of his conjugal decapitations, and fell into an hysterical agony.[1] She occupied an apartment contiguous to that of the sick and froward monarch; and as she fell from one fit into another, her shrieks and cries reached his ears. Finding they continued for many hours, either moved with pity, or, as Dr. Lingard shrewdly suggests, "incommoded by the noise," he sent to inquire what was the matter. Katharine's physician, Dr. Wendy, having penetrated the cause of her majesty's indisposition, informed the royal messenger that the queen was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind."[2] When the king heard this, he was either moved

[1] Fox. Speed. Herbert. Lingard. [2] Tytler.

with unwonted feelings of compassion for the sufferings of his consort, or reminded, by his own increasing infirmities, which had confined him for the last two days to his bed, of her unrivalled skill as a nurse; and feeling, perhaps, for the first time, how much he should miss her in that capacity if death deprived him of her services, he determined to pay her a visit. This act of royal condescension was the more remarkable because it was attended with great personal inconvenience to himself, for he was carried in a chair into queen Katharine's apartment, being at that time unable to walk.[1] He found her heavy and melancholy, and apparently at the point of death, at which he evinced much sympathy, as if really alarmed at the idea of losing her. Perhaps he had not, till then, discovered that she was dearer to him than her fairer and more passionately, but briefly loved, predecessors, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. The hysterical agonies of those unhappy ladies had produced no such relentings in his vindictive breast, though they had been duly reported to him; but then, to be sure, he was out of hearing of their cries. Katharine Parr had, besides, been twice married before, and being a woman of great sense and observation, had acquired greater experience in adapting herself to the humour of her froward lord, than either the gay, reckless coquette, Anne Boleyn, or the young, unlettered Howard. On this occasion she testified a proper degree of gratitude for the honour of his visit, "which," she assured him, "had greatly revived and rejoiced her." She also adroitly offered an opening for an explanation of the cause of Henry's displeasure by expressing herself much distressed at having seen so little of his majesty of late, adding, that her uneasiness at this was increased by her apprehensions of having been so unhappy as to have given him some

[1] Fox.

unintentional offence.[1] Henry replied only with gracious and encouraging expressions of his good will. During the rest of this critical interview, Katharine behaved in so humble and endearing a manner, and so completely adapted herself to the humour of her imperious lord, that, in the excitement caused by the reaction of his feelings, Henry betrayed to her physician the secret of the plot against her life. This gentleman, being both a good and a prudent person, acted as a mediator with his sovereign in the first instance, and is said to have suggested to the queen the proper means of securing a reconciliation with Henry.[2]

The next evening the queen found herself well enough to return the king's visit in his bedchamber. She came attended by her sister, lady Herbert, and the king's young niece, lady Jane Gray,[3] who carried the candles before her majesty. Henry welcomed her very courteously, and appeared to take her attention in good part; but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine wittily excused herself from the snare by observing, that she was but a woman, accompanied with all the imperfections natural to the weakness of her sex; therefore, in all matters of doubt and difficulty, she must refer herself to his majesty's better judgment, as to her lord and head; "for so God hath appointed you," continued she, "as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn."

"Not so, by St. Mary," said the king; "ye are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oftentime we have seen." "Indeed," replied the queen, "if your majesty have so conceived,

[1] Fox. Herbert. Speed. [2] Soames' Hist. Ref. Tytler.
[3] Lady Jane Gray, though only nine years old at that time, held some office of state in the chamber of queen Katharine Parr.

my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived, that in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting withal by your majesty's learned discourse." "And is it so, sweetheart!" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends." He then kissed her with much tenderness, and gave her leave to depart.

On the day appointed for her arrest, the king, being convalescent, sent for the queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended, as before, by her sister, lady Jane Gray, and lady Tyrwhit. Presently, the lord chancellor Wriothesley, with forty of the guard, entered the garden, with the expectation of carrying off the queen to the Tower, for he had not received the slightest intimation of the change in the royal caprice. The king received him with a burst of indignation, saluted him with the unexpected address of "Beast, fool, and knave," and sternly withdrawing him from the vicinity of the queen, he bade him "avaunt from his presence." Katharine, when she saw the king so greatly incensed with the chancellor, had the magnanimity to intercede for her foe, saying, "she would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake."

"Ah! poor soul," said the king, "thou little knowest, Kate, how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!" [1]

[1] Speed. Herbert. Fox. Rapin.

Katharine Parr treated the authors of the cruel conspiracy against her life with the magnanimity of a great mind and the forbearance of a true Christian. She sought no vengeance, although the reaction of the king's uxurious fondness would undoubtedly have given her the power of destroying them, if she had been of a vindictive temper. But though Henry was induced, through the intercession of Katharine, to overlook the offence of Wriothesley, he never forgave Gardiner the part he had taken in this affair, which proved no less a political blunder than a moral crime. It was the death-blow of his credit with the king, who not only struck his name out of his council-book, but forbade him his presence. Gardiner, notwithstanding this prohibition, had the boldness to present himself before the sovereign on the terrace at Windsor, among his former colleagues. When Henry observed him, he turned fiercely to his chancellor, and said, "Did I not command you that *he* should come no more among you?"

"My lord of Winchester," replied Wriothesley, "has come to wait upon your highness with the offer of a benevolence from his clergy."[1] This was touching the right chord, for money never came amiss to the rapacious and needy monarch from any quarter. Henry condescended to receive the address, and to accept the bribe, but took no further notice of the bishop than to strike his name out of the list of his executors. Henry cancelled that of Thirlby, bishop of Westminster, also, "because," he said, "the latter was schooled by Gardiner."[2] So careful was the king to leave neither power nor influence in the council of his successor to the man who had tempted him to close his reign with the murder of his innocent wife.

[1] By the testification as well of master Denny as of sir Henry Neville, who were present. Fox. [2] Lingard. Soames.

Henry is said to have exhibited many public marks of coarse, but confiding fondness for queen Katharine Parr in his latter days. He was accustomed to call her "sweetheart," and to lay his sore leg on her lap before the lords and ladies in waiting; and sometimes, it is said, he so far forgot the restraints of royalty as to do so in the presence of the whole court. The queen, who was still a very pretty little woman, and quite young enough to have been his daughter, was careful to receive these rude endearments, as flattering marks of the favour of her royal lord. Yet after the fearful warning she had received of the capricious nature of his love, and the treachery of his disposition, she must have regarded herself as a "poor pensioner on the bounties of an hour." How indeed could the sixth wife of Henry pillow her head on his cruel bosom, without dreaming of axes and flames, or fearing to see the curtains withdrawn by the pale spectres of his former matrimonial victims?

Her wifely probation, as queen consort of England, was, however, near its close; for Henry's own tragedy was rapidly drawing to a termination. Its last act was to be stained with the blood of the most accomplished nobleman in his dominions, the gallant Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the cousin of his two beheaded queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, and the friend and brother-in-law of his passionately-loved son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond. Surrey has generally been regarded as the victim of the Seymour party, who had obtained a great ascendancy in the council since Gardiner had committed the false step of practising against the life of the queen.

Katharine Parr, though she had laboured, at the peril of being sent to the scaffold, to obtain toleration and liberty of conscience for those of her own religion, had hitherto carefully abstained from implicating herself

with the intrigues of either party. Now, she naturally threw the weight of her quiet influence into the scale of those who supported the doctrine of the Reformation. With this party, which was headed by the Seymours, her only brother the earl of Essex, and her sister's husband, lord Herbert, were allied. A mortal hatred subsisted between the newly-aggrandized family of Seymour and the house of Howard. The high-spirited heir of Norfolk, in whose veins flowed the proud blood of Charlemagne and the Plantagenets, was known to look with contempt on the new nobility, and had rashly expressed his intention of avenging the insolence with which he had been treated by the earl of Hertford, when a convenient season should arrive. The precarious state of the sovereign's health warned the Seymours to make the most of the power which they had got into their own hands. Among the absurd charges that were brought against Surrey, one must have been artfully framed to cause disquiet to queen Katharine, which was, that he had conceived the monstrous project of marrying his beautiful sister, the duchess-dowager of Richmond, to the king, although she was the widow of that monarch's reputed son Henry, duke of Richmond. Stranger still, the young lady herself, out of revenge, as it is supposed, to her noble brother, for having prevented her father from bestowing her in marriage on the admiral sir Thomas Seymour, of whom she was deeply enamoured, came forward as a witness against him, and deposed, "that he had instructed her how to behave herself that she might obtain private interviews with the king, and so endear herself in his favour that she might rule as others had done." As Henry had already married two fair ladies of the Howard lineage,[1] through

[1] Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. In one of the state papers, in the handwriting of Wriothesley, that portion of the charge against

whose influence the blanche lion had for a brief period triumphed over all rivals in the court, the foes of Surrey and his aged father calculated that this odious accusation might possibly obtain sufficient credit to excite the indignation of the people and the jealousy of the queen; so far, at any rate, as to deter her from interceding in behalf of the victims of their murderous policy.

The unmerited fate of the gallant and accomplished Surrey has been ever considered as one of the darkest blots of the crime-stained annals of Henry VIII. It is somewhat remarkable that this monarch, who had received a learned education, made pretensions to authorship, and affected to be a patron of the belles-lettres, sent the three most distinguished literary characters of his court—sir Thomas More, lord Rochford, and Surrey—to the block, from feelings of private and personal malice, and in so illegal a manner, that the executions of all three deserve no gentler name than murder. Surrey was beheaded on the 19th of January, 1547. Henry then lay on his death-bed; and his swollen and enfeebled hands having been long unequal to the task of guiding a pen, a stamp, with the fac-simile of the initials "H. R.," was affixed to the death-warrant in his presence.[1] In like manner was that for the execution of the duke of Norfolk signed. This aged nobleman claimed a three-

Surrey is thus commented upon, and placed in a still coarser point of view:—

"If a man compassing *with himself to govern the realm, do actually go about to rule the king, and should for that purpose advise his daughter or sister* to become his harlot, *thinking thereby to bring it to pass, and so would rule both father and son, as by this next article doth more appear.*"

The words in italics are written by Henry himself, in a tremulous character.

[1] On August 31st, 1546, Henry appointed A. Denny, J. Gate, and W. Clere, to sign all instruments requiring his signature, from that day to the 10th of May, 1547, in the following manner:—Two of them were to impress a dry stamp on the instrument, and the third to fill up the impression with pen and ink. Rymer.

fold relationship to the king, as the husband of his maternal aunt, the princess Anne Plantagenet, and as the uncle of two of Henry's queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. According to the custom of those times, he had no doubt been occasionally called by the king, his uncle Norfolk. Yet the last act of Henry's life was to dispatch a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower with an order for the execution of the unfortunate duke, early on the following morning. This was on the evening of the 26th of January. A more irrevocable fiat had, however, gone forth against the relentless tyrant, and ere that morning dawned which was to have seen the hoary head of Norfolk fall on the scaffold, he was himself a corpse.[1]

When the physicians announced to those in attendance on the sovereign that the hour of his departure was at hand, they shrunk from the peril of incurring the last ebullition of his vindictive temper by warning him of the awful change that awaited him.[2] The queen, worn out with days and nights of fatiguing personal attendance on her wayward lord, during the burning fever which had preyed upon him for more than two months, was in all probability unequal to the trial of witnessing the last fearful scene; for she is not mentioned as having been present on that occasion. Sir Anthony Denny was the only person who had the courage to inform the king of his real state. He approached the bed, and leaning over it, told him "that all human aid was now vain, and that it was meet for him to review his past life, and seek for

[1] The duke was reprieved from the execution of his sentence by the providential death of the king. It is therefore evident that it was from Henry himself that sentence proceeded, since the Seymours might easily have had the warrant executed, if they had chosen, before the death of the sovereign was made public. It was his last order, and it must have cost some trouble to prevent its being carried into effect.

[2] Burnet. Tytler. Lingard.

God's mercy through Christ." Henry, who was uttering loud cries of pain and impatience, regarded him with a stern look, and asked, "What judge had sent him to pass this sentence upon him?" Denny replied, "Your physicians." When these physicians next approached the royal patient to offer him medicine, he repelled them in these words: "After the judges have passed sentence on a criminal they have no more need to trouble him; therefore begone!"[1] It was then suggested that he should confer with some of his divines. "I will see no one but Cranmer," replied the king; "and not him as yet. Let me repose a little, and as I find myself so I shall determine." After an hour's sleep he awoke, and becoming faint, commanded that Cranmer, who had withdrawn to Croydon, should be sent for with all haste. But the precious interval had been wasted; and before the archbishop entered, Henry was speechless. Cranmer besought him to testify by some sign his hope in the saving mercy of Christ. The king regarded him steadily for a moment, wrung his hand, and expired.[2] Thevet bears testimony to the dying monarch's remorse of conscience for the murder of Anne Boleyn, in particular, and of his other crimes in general. Harpsfield describes him as afflicted with visionary horrors at the hour of his departure; for that he glanced with rolling eyes and looks of wild import towards the darker recesses of his chamber, muttering to himself "Monks—monks!" But whether this ejaculation implied that his disordered fancy had peopled vacancy with cowled figures, or that he was desirous of summoning monks to assist at his last orisons, must for ever remain a mystery. "Warned of the moment of approaching dissolution," says another writer, "and scorched with the death-thirst, he craved a cup of white wine, and turning to one of his attendants, he exclaimed,

[1] Leti. [2] Goodwin.

'All is lost!' these words were his last." The same author avers that Henry was preparing an accusation against his queen, on the old charge of heresy, which was only prevented by his death.

If this were indeed the case, it would sufficiently account for the silence of contemporaries touching Katharine Parr's proceedings at the time of her royal husband's death. This throws some light, too, on the general remark of the historians of that period, that Katharine's life was providentially preserved by the decease of Henry at a critical period for her; and that it was only by especial good luck that she was the survivor.

The only notice of the queen which occurs at this period is contained in a letter addressed to her on the 10th of January by prince Edward, in which he thanks her for her new year's gift, the pictures of herself and the king his father; "which will delight him," he says, "to contemplate in their absence." He calls her, "illustrious queen and dearest mother." The youthful heir of England was at Hertford with his preceptors at the time of the last illness of his royal father.

Henry VIII. expired at two o'clock in the morning of January 28th, 1547, at his royal palace of Westminster, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age.

This important event was kept secret till the earl of Hertford had obtained possession of the person of his royal nephew, the young king Edward VI., and arranged his plans for securing the government of England in his name. The parliament met on the 29th, according to an adjournment, which had been moved during the life of the sovereign, and received no intimation of his demise till Monday, the last day of January,[1] when Wriothesley, the chancellor, announced to the assembled peers and com-

[1] Lingard. Mackintosh. Tytler. Rapin.

mons the death of their late dread lord—"which," says the deceitful record, "was unspeakably sad and sorrowful to all hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words." A part of Henry's will was then read by sir William Paget, secretary of state; and the parliament was declared by the chancellor to be dissolved by the demise of the crown.

When the will of Henry VIII. was opened, the queen expressed the utmost surprise on learning that she was not appointed to the regency of the realm, and the care of the person of the young king. She complained bitterly of the counsellors and executors of king Henry, and of those persons under whose influence his last testament had been made, but they paid no attention to her displeasure.

In this will, Henry places the children he may have by his queen, Katharine Parr, in the order of succession immediately after his only son, prince Edward, giving them precedency of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. If, therefore, the queen had borne a posthumous daughter to Henry, a civil war would unquestionably have been the result. The words are,

"And per default of lawful issue of our son, prince Edward, we will that the said imperial crown, and other the premises, after our two deceases, shall fully remain and come to the heirs of our entirely beloved wife, queene Katharyne, that now is or of any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry."[1]

The last sentence seems ominous enough to the childless queen, implying that Henry meant to survive her, and was gravely providing for the contingency of his issue by a seventh queen. The preamble to the legacy he bequeaths to Katharine Parr contains, however, a very high testimony to her virtues:—

"And for the great love, obedience, chastity of life, and wisdom, being in our forenamed wife and queen, we bequeath unto her for her

[1] Chapter-House Royal MS. This will was executed December 30th, 1546. It was stamped with the royal initials, not signed.

proper life, and as it shall please her to order it, three thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and stuff of household goods, and such apparel as it shall please her to take of such as we have already. And further we give unto her one thousand pounds in money, and the amount of her dower and jointure according to our grant in parliament."

This legacy, when the relative value of money is considered, as well as the destitution of the exchequer at the time, will not be thought so inadequate a bequest as it appears. Katharine Parr was amply dowered by parliament and by the king's patents, and she had two dowers besides, as the widow of the lords Borough and Latimer. She was supposed to have made great savings while she was queen-consort. After the death of the king, she received all the honours due to his acknowledged widow—he left two, be it remembered; but she was prayed for as queen dowager in the presence of the young king, by her old enemy, Gardiner, in the following prayer for the royal family:—"I commend to God queen Katharine, dowager,[1] my lady Mary's grace, and my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majesty's dear sisters." On the 7th of February, after Henry VIII.'s death, king Edward VI. wrote a Latin letter of condolence to his widowed step-mother, superscribed "Reginæ Katharinae," calling her his dearest mother, and concluding, "Farewell, venerated queen."

The news of Henry's death was received with exultation at Rome. The pope asked cardinal Pole "why he did not rejoice with the rest at the death of this great enemy of the church?" Pole replied, "that nothing would be gained by that event, for the young king Edward had been educated by preceptors of Lutheran and Zuinglian principles; that the council of regency was composed of persons of the same class; and to complete all, his uncles and the queen-mother (Katharine Parr) were more obstinate in their heresies than all the rest."[2]

[1] Fox. [2] Leti.

While Henry's body lay in state, Gardiner held a controversy with lord Oxford's players, who were located at Southwark, his own diocese. These players chose to act a splendid play. Gardiner thought it more decent, as he said, "to perform a solemn dirge for his master, as beseemeth, whilst he laid unburied." He applied to the justice of peace against the players, "who mean," says he, "to see which shall have most resort, them or I," adding that, "if he could not prevent the acting of the play, he could and would prevent the people from going to see it while the king's body was above ground."[1]

The following account of the pompous, and certainly very catholic obsequies of Henry VIII., is taken from a book in the College of Arms:—"The chest wherein the royal corpse was laid stood in the midst of the privy chamber, with lights, and divine service was said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the privy chamber, in their course and order, night and day, for five days, till the chapel was ready, where was a goodly hearse, with eighty square tapers, every light containing two feet in length, in the whole 1800 or 2000 weight in wax, garnished with pensils, escutcheons, banners, and bannerols of descents; and at the four corners, banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask, with a majesty (i. e. canopy) over of rich cloth of tissue, and valance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold. The barriers without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the chapel, were covered with black cloth to the high altar, and the sides and ceiling set with the banners and standards of St. George and others. The 2nd of February, the corpse was removed and brought into the chapel by the lord great master and officers of the household, and there placed within the hearse, under a pall of rich

[1] Tytler's State Papers, pp. 20, 21.

cloth of tissue, garnished with scutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones. It continued there twelve days, with masses and *diriges* sung and said every day, Norroy each day standing at the choir door, and beginning with these words, in a loud voice—'Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII.'" February 14th, the corpse was removed for interment. There is an appalling incident connected with that journey, which we copy from a contemporary MS. among the Sloane collection:—

"The king being carried to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion, and there the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church was wetted with Henry's blood. In the morning came plumbers to solder the coffin, under whose feet—I tremble while I write it," says the author—"was suddenly seen a dog creeping, and licking up the king's blood. If you ask me how I know this, I answer, William Greville, who could scarcely drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also."

It appears pretty certain that the sleepy mourners and choristers had retired to rest after the midnight dirges were sung, leaving the dead king to defend himself as best he might from the assaults of his ghostly enemies, and some people might think they made their approaches in a currish form. It is scarcely, however, to be wondered that a circumstance so frightful should have excited feelings of superstitious horror, especially at such a time and place; for this desecrated convent had been the prison of his unhappy queen Katharine Howard, whose tragic fate was fresh in the minds of men, and by a singular coincidence it happened that Henry's corpse rested there the very day after the fifth anniversary of her execution.

There is a class of writers, too, who regard the accident which has just been related, as a serious fulfilment of friar Peyto's denunciation against Henry, from the pulpit of Greenwich church, in 1533, when that daring preacher compared him to Ahab, and told him, to his face, "that the dogs would, in like manner, lick his blood." In a very different light was Henry represented by bishop Gardiner, in the adulatory funeral sermon which he preached at Windsor, on the 16th of February, on the text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord," in which he set forth the loss both high and low had sustained, in the death of so good and gracious a king."

But to return to the ceremonial. "The corpse being let down by a vice, with the help of sixteen tall yeomen of the guard, the same bishop (Gardiner), standing at the head of the vault, proceeded in the burial service, and about the same stood all the head officers of the household—as the lord great master, the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, comptroller, serjeant-porter, and the four gentlemen ushers in ordinary, with their staves and rods in their hands, and when the mould was brought and cast into the grave, by the officiating prelate, at the words *Pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri*, then first, the lord great master, and, after him, the lord chamberlain and all the rest, brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corpse into the pit, with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears. After this, *De profundis* was said, the grave covered over with planks, and Garter, attended by his officers, stood in the midst of the choir, and proclaimed the young king's titles, and the rest of his officers repeated the same after him thrice. Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all them that were present,"[1] acting as a cordial to the official

[1] MS. in College of Arms.

weepers, it may be presumed, after their hydraulic efforts were concluded.

On the banners carried at Henry the Eighth's funeral, the arms of his late wife, queen Jane, were displayed, quartered with his, likewise a banner of the arms of queen Katharine Parr,[1] his widow—these being the only wives he acknowledged out of six.

During the brief period of her royal widowhood, Katharine Parr, now queen dowager, resided at her fine jointure-house at Chelsea, on the banks of the Thames, which, with its beautiful and extensive gardens, occupied the pleasant spot now called Cheyne Pier.[2] Some of

[1] "In the east window of the hall of Baynard's Castle," Sandford says, "stood the escutcheon of this queen Katharine Parr, which I delineated from the original, on the 8th of November, 1664, in which she did bear quarterly of six pieces:—the 1st, argent, on a pile gules, betwixt six roses of the first the roses of the second, which was an augmentation given to her, being queen. 2. Argent, two barrs azure, a border engrailed, sable, *Parr*. 3. Or, three water-bougets, sable, *Roos of Kendal*. 4. Varry, argent and azure, a fess, gules, *Marmion*. 5. Three cheverons interlaced in base, and a chief, or, *Fitz Hugh*. 6. Vert, three bucks, standing at gaze, or, *Green*. These quarterings are ensigned with a royal crown, and are between a K and a P, for Katharine Parr."

Genealogical Hist. of England, fol. ed. p. 460.

One of the badges of Parr, marquis of Northampton, borne by him at a review of the gentlemen pensioners in Greenwich park, was a maiden's head, crowned with gold.

[2] The following particulars of Katharine Parr's dowager palace may be interesting to the reader, as it is a place so frequently mentioned both in the personal history of this queen, and that of her step-daughter, queen Elizabeth:—

About the year 1536, Henry VIII., being seized of the manors of Chelsea and Kensington, built a capital messuage in Chelsea, called Chelsea Hall, intending it as a nursery for his children, and made sir Francis Bryan keeper of it for life. Dr. King, in his MS. account of Chelsea, quoted by Lyssons, says the "old manor-house stood near the church," and adds, "Henry VIII.'s building stood upon that part of Cheyne Walk which adjoins to Winchester House, and extends eastward as far as Don Saltero's coffee-house. The north front of the manor-house is depicted in a print in Faulkner's Chelsea. The architecture of the ancient part assimilates somewhat with that of St. James's Palace. Small turrets communicate with the chimneys; the windows are long and high, and one of them has the Tudor arch on the top. The battlements are crenated; the door, situated between two of the chimney turrets, is pointed Gothic. There seemed little ornament, and no royal magnificence, in the structure. The walls of the royal garden were still entire when

the noble trees in Mr. Druce's gardens appear coeval with that epoch, and are perhaps the same under whose budding verdure queen Katharine was accustomed to hold her secret meetings with her adventurous lover, sir Thomas Seymour, ere royal etiquette would allow her to give public encouragement to his suit. Faulkner assures us, that at the time of Katharine Parr's residence at Chelsea Place, there was but one passable road in the village, which was a private way to the royal residence across the open fields; it crossed a foot bridge, called in ancient records, Blandel bridge, afterwards the scene of many murders from highwaymen, which caused the name to be corrupted, in vulgar parlance, to Bloody bridge. Across this dangerous track, the lord admiral must have taken his nocturnal path to the queen. Seymour renewed his addresses to Katharine so immediately after king Henry's death, that she was wooed and won almost before she had assumed the widow's hood and barb and sweeping sable pall, which marked the relict of the departed majesty of England. Seymour had opportunities of confidential communication with the widowed queen, even before the funeral of the royal rival for whom she had been compelled to resign him, when lady Latimer, for he was a member of the late king's household, and had been appointed by Henry's will one of the council of regency during the minority of the young king. His person and characteristics are thus described by Hayward:—"The lord Sudley," (he had been elevated to that title by his nephew, Edward VI.,) "was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in

Mr. Faulkner's valuable history of Chelsea was written. A portion of them still remains in the gardens of Mr. Druce, and also of Mr. Handford, in which are the little stone basins used as fish-ponds in queen Katharine's pleasure grounds, and marked in the ancient maps of Chelsea as part of that domain.

matter." He was still in the prime of life, and possessed of the peculiar manners calculated to charm the softer sex. Though he had made more than one attempt to secure a splendid alliance, he had the art to make the queen dowager believe that he was still a bachelor for her sake. Katharine, after having been the wife of three mature widowers in succession, to the last of whom that joyless bauble, a crown, had tricked her into three years, six months, and fourteen days of worse than Egyptian bondage, found herself, in her thirty-fifth year, still handsome, and apparently more passionately beloved than ever by the man of her heart. Woman-like, she gave him full credit for constancy and disinterested love, and found it difficult to withstand his ardent pleadings to reward his tried affection by resigning to him the hand which had been plighted to him before her marriage with the king. The postscript of the following letter, evidently not the first billet-doux the widowed queen had penned to Seymour, contains an interesting comment on her feelings on the occasion of their previous separation, and the painful struggle it had caused:—

"My Lord,

"I send you my most humble and hearty commendations, being desirous to know how ye have done since I saw you. I pray you be not offended with me in that I send sooner to you than I said I would, for my promise was but once in a fortnight. Howbeit the time is well abbreviated, by what means I know not, except weeks be shorter at Chelsea than in other places.

"My lord your brother hath deferred answering such requests as I made to him till his coming hither, which he saith shall be immediately after the term. This is not the first promise I have received of his coming, and yet unperformed. I think my lady hath taught him that lesson;[1] for it is her custom to promise many comings to her friends, and to perform none. I trust in greater matters she is more circumspect.

[1] It has been affirmed that Sanders is the only authority for the differences between Katharine Parr and Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset: but here is an evident indication of the same, under her own hand, accompanied by shrewd appreciation of character.

"And thus, my lord, I make my end, bidding you most heartily farewell, wishing you the good I would myself.—From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I would not have you to think that this mine honest good will toward you to proceed of any sudden motion of passion; for as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent the other time I was at liberty to marry you before any man I know. Howbeit God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time, and through his grace and goodness made that possible which seemed to me most impossible; that was, made me renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow his will most willingly. It were long to write all the process of this matter—if I live I shall declare it to you myself. I can say nothing, but as my lady of Suffolk saith, 'God is a marvellous man.'

"By her that is yours to serve and obey during her life,

"KATERYN THE QUENE, K. P."

Indorsed—"The queen's letter from Chelsea to my lord admiral. The answer to the lord admiral of her former loves."[1]

Seymour, who was determined not to lose Katharine a second time, would brook no delays, not even those which propriety demanded. The following letter was written by queen Katharine, in reply to one of his love letters, wherein, among other matters, their immediate marriage appears to have been warmly urged by the admiral:

"My lord,

"As I gather by your letter, delivered to my brother Herbert, ye are in some fear how to frame my lord your brother to speak in your favour; the denial of your request shall make his folly more manifest to the world, which will more grieve me than the want of his speaking. I would not wish you to importune for his good will, if it come not frankly at the first; it shall be sufficient once to require it, and then to cease. I would desire you might obtain the king's letters in your favour, and also the aid and furtherance of the most notable of the council, such as ye shall think convenient; which thing obtained, shall be no small shame to your brother and loving sister, in case they do not the like.

"My lord, whereas ye charge me with a promise, written with mine own hand, to change the two years into two months, I think ye have no

[1] The original of this important document, lately in the Strawberry-hill collection of MSS., is an undoubted autograph of queen Katharine Parr, and a very fine specimen of her beautiful penmanship. A copy of it has been printed in Hearne's Syloge, but with one or two verbal errors, and without the descriptive indorsement. The opportunity of taking a perfect transcript from the original was courteously granted by Mr. Robins, but I have modernized the orthography for publication in this work. The autograph letter realized the enormous price of sixteen guineas at the sale at Strawberry Hill.

such plain sentence written with my hand. I know not whether ye be a paraphraser or not. If ye be learned in that science, it is possible ye may of one word make a whole sentence, and yet not at all times after the true meaning of the writer; as it appeareth by this your exposition upon my writing.

"When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, ye must take some pain to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock; and so I suppose ye may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowledge over-night at what hour ye will come, that your portress may wait at the gate[1] to the fields for you. And thus, with my most humble and hearty commendations, I take my leave of you for this time, giving you like thanks for your coming to court when I was there. —From Chelsea."

"P.S.—I will keep in store till I speak with you my lord's large offer for Fausterne, at which time I shall be glad to know your further pleasure therein.

"By her that is and shall be your humble, true, and loving wife during her life,

"KATERYN THE QUENE, K. P."

Although the precise date of Katharine Parr's fourth nuptials is uncertain, it is evident that the admiral's eloquence prevailed over her punctilio at a very early period of her widowhood, by persuading her to consent to a private marriage. Leti affirms, that exactly thirty-four days after king Henry's death, a written contract of marriage and rings of betrothal were exchanged between Katharine and Sir Thomas Seymour, but the marriage was not celebrated till some months later. According to Edward the Sixth's journal, this event took place in May, but it was certainly not made public till the end of June.

Great censure has been passed on queen Katharine for contracting matrimony again so soon after the death of her royal husband. But, in the first place, she owed neither love nor reverence to the memory of a consort, who had held a sword suspended over her by a single hair, for the last six months of their union; and in the next, Henry himself had previously led her into a similar

[1] This postern is still in existence, in the garden of Mr. Druce. The antique hinges may be seen imbedded in the old wall.

breach of widowly decorum by inducing her to become his wife, within almost as brief a period after the death of her second husband, lord Latimer, as her marriage with Seymour after his own.

It appears evident, from the tenour of the following dutiful and reverential letter from Seymour to queen Katharine, which we give verbatim, that they had been privately married for some days, and that at the time it was written he was doubtful, from the cross-questioning of her sister, lady Herbert, whether the queen had confided the secret to her, or circumstances had been whispered abroad, which had led to unpleasant reports as to the nature of his nocturnal visits to her majesty.

SEYMOUR TO KATHARINE PARR.

"After my humble commendation unto your highness, yesternight I supped at my brother Herbert's, of whom, for your sake besides mine own, I received good cheer; and after the same, I received from your highness, by my sister Herbert, your commendations, which were more welcome than they were sent. And after the same she waded further with me touching my lodging with your highness at Chelsea, which I denied lodging with your highness, but that indeed I went by the garden as I went to the bishop of London's house, and at this point stood with her a long time, till at last she told me further tokens, which made me change colour, who, like a false wench, took me with the manner; then remembering what she was, and knowing how well ye trusted her, examined whether those things came from your highness or were feigned. She answered, 'that they came from your highness,' and he, 'that he knew it to be true,' for the which I render unto your highness my most humble and hearty thanks, for by her company, in default of yours, I shall shorten the weeks in these parts, which heretofore were four days longer in every one of them than they were under the plummet at Chelsea. Besides this commodity, I may also inform your highness by her, how I do proceed in my matter, although I should take my old friend Walter Erroll. I have not as yet attempted my strength, for that I would be first throughly in credit, or I would move the same; but beseeching your highness that I may not so use my said strength that they shall think and hereafter cast in my teeth that by their suit I sought and obtained your good will, for hitherto I am out of all their dangers for any pleasure that they have done for me worthy of thanks, and, as I judge, your highness may say the like; wherefore by mine ad-

vice we will keep us, so nothing mistrusting the goodness of God, but we shall be able to live out of their danger, as they shall out of ours; yet I mean not but to use their friendship to bring our purpose to pass, as occasion shall serve. If I knew by what mean I might gratify your highness for your goodness to me, shewed at our last lodging together, it should not be slack to declare mine lady again, and to that intent that I might be more bound unto your highness, that once in three days I might receive three lines in a letter from you, and as many lines and letters more as shall seem good unto your highness. Also, I shall humbly desire your highness to give me one of your small pictures, if ye have any left, who with *his* silence shall give me occasion to think on the friendly cheer that I shall receive when my suit shall be at an end; and thus, for fear of troubling your highness with my long and rude letter, I take my leave of your highness, wishing that my hap may be one so good, that I may declare so much by mouth at the same hour that this was writing, which was twelve of the clock in the night, this Tuesday, the 17th of May, at Saint James's.

"I wrote your highness a line in my last letter, that my lord of Somerset was going to that shire, who hath been sick, which by the —— thereof, and as I understand, may get thither as to-morrow.

"From him whom ye have bound to honour, love, and in all lawful things obey,

"T. SEYMOUR, &c."

Indorsed,—"The Lord Admirall to the Queene."[1]

In this lover-like and romantic manner did the fair queen dowager and her secretly wedded lord pass the merry month of May, which, according to king Edward's diary, was their bridal month. The oft-repeated assertion, that "Katharine wedded Seymour so immediately after the death of her royal husband, that had she proved a mother so soon as she might have done, it would have been a doubt whether the child should have been accounted the late king's or the admiral's,"[2] rests wholly on the charge that was brought after her decease against Seymour in his indictment. Katharine, for her own sake, would scarcely have married till full three months had elapsed since the death of the king, as her issue, whether male or female, by the tenour of Henry VIII.'s

[1] State Paper MSS. Edward VI. No. 20.

[2] Art. 20 of charge against Seymour. Burnet's Hist. of Ref., p. 11. Records, p. 160.

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will, would have been heir presumptive to the crown of England, and she was too prudent, and at the same time too ambitious, to have risked the benefit and dignity she would have obtained by a contingency, that might have ultimately given her the rank and power of a queen mother.

May was certainly the earliest period in which she could, with any degree of safety, to say nothing of propriety, contract matrimony with her former lover; and even this, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the parallel case of the precipitate marriage of Mary queen of France with Charles Brandon, was a great breach of royal etiquette.

Seymour at length became impatient of the restraints that attended his clandestine intercourse with his royal bride, and applied to the princess Mary for her advice and influence in the matter. In her dry and very characteristic reply, the princess commences with allusions to some amplification of her establishment, which the interest of lord Seymour in the council of guardianship and regency had expedited:—

"My lord,

"After my hearty commendations, these shall be to declare to you that, according to your accustomed gentleness, I have received six warrants from you by your servant, this bearer, (the bearer of this,) for the which I do give you my hearty thanks, by whom also I received your letter, wherein, as methinketh, I perceive strange news concerning a suit you have in hand to the queen for marriage, for the sooner obtaining whereof you seem to think that my letters might do you a favour.

"My lord, in this case I trust your wisdom doth consider that, if it were for my nearest kinsman and dearest friend *on lyve*, (alive,) of all other creatures in the world it standeth least with my poor honour to be a medler in this matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late, and besides that, if she be minded to grant your suit, my letters shall do you but small pleasure. On the other side, if the remembrance of the king's majesty, my father, (whose soul God pardon,) will not suffer her to graunt your suit, I am nothing able to persuade her to forget the loss of him who is as yet very rife in mine own remembrance. Wherefore I shall most earnestly require you (the premises considered) to think none unkindness in me, though I refuse to be a medler any ways in

this matter, assuring you that, (*wooing matters set apart, wherein, being a maid, I am nothing cunning,*) if otherways it shall lie in my power to do you pleasure, I shall be as glad to do it as you to require it, both for his blood's sake that you be of,[1] and also for the gentleness which I have always found in you, as knoweth Almighty God, to whose tuition I commit you. From Wanstead, this Saturday, at night, being the 4th of June. "Your assured friend, to my power,

"MARVE."

The princess Elizabeth was at that time residing at Chelsea with queen Katharine, to whose maternal care she had been consigned by the council of the young king. It is very likely that she was well acquainted with the whole affair, for even if the queen had not made her a confidante, her acute powers of observation, and natural talent for intrigue, would undoubtedly have enabled her to penetrate the cause of the handsome Seymour's mysterious visits and admissions, through the postern gate of the gardens at Chelsea.

In the latter end of May, queen Katharine was sojourning at St. James's palace for a few days, and while there, she wrote the young king a Latin letter on the subject of her great love for his late father Henry VIII. This was rather an extraordinary subject for the royal widow to dilate upon, since she was at the very time either married or on the point of marriage with Seymour. She added to her letter many quotations from Scripture, and expressed an earnest desire that the young monarch would answer the epistle, which he did, in the same learned language. The following is a translation of Edward's letter, that of Katharine Parr is lost, but the answer gives a clear idea of its contents:—

"As I was so near to you, and saw you, or expected to see you every day, I wrote no letter to you, since letters are tokens of remembrance and kindness between those who are at a great distance. But being urged by your request, I would not abstain longer from writing—first, that I may do what is acceptable to you, and then to answer the letter

[1] Being uncle to her brother, Edward VI., to whom she here alludes.

you wrote to me when you were at St. James's. In which, first, you set before my eyes the great love you bear my father the king, of most noble memory, then your good will towards me, and lastly, your godliness and knowledge, and learning in the Scriptures. Proceed, therefore, in your good course; continue to love my father, and to shew the same great kindness to me which I have ever perceived in you. Cease not to love and read the Scriptures, but persevere in always reading them; for in the first you shew the duty of a good wife and a good subject, and in the second, the warmth of your friendship, and in the third, your piety to God. Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but much esteem you; since you love me, I cannot but love you in return; and since you love the Word of God, I do love and admire you with my whole heart. Wherefore, if there be anything wherein I may do you a kindness, either in word or deed, I will do it willingly. Farewell, this 30th of May."[1]

The artless young sovereign was in the end not only induced to recommend his wily uncle to his widowed stepmother for a husband, but led to believe that it was actually a match of his own making. In the innocence of his heart Edward wrote the following letter with his own hand to queen Katharine, in which he expresses himself highly obliged to her for acceding to his wish by marrying his uncle. The dignity with which the monarch, in his tenth year, offers his royal protection to the mature bride and bridegroom is truly amusing.

To the Queen's Grace.

"We thank you heartily, not only for the gentle acceptation of our suit moved unto you, but also for the loving accomplishing of the same, wherein you have declared, not only a desire to gratify us, but to declare the good will, likewise, that we bear to you in all your requests. Wherefore ye shall not need to *fear any grief to come or to suspect lack of aid in need*, seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature that he will not be troublesome any means unto you, and I of such mind, that for divers just causes I must favour you. But even as without cause you merely require help against him whom you have put in trust with the carriage of these letters, so may I merely return the same request unto you, to provide that he may live with you also without grief, which hath given him wholly unto you; and I will so provide for you both,

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. ii., part 1, p. 59, from archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS.

that if hereafter any grief befal, I shall be a sufficient succour in your godly or praiseable enterprises.

"Fare ye well, with much increase of honour and virtue in Christ. From St. James, the five and twenty day of June.

"EDWARD."

Indorsed, in an antique hand,—"The king's majesty's letter to the queen *after marriage*, June 25, 1548."

Young Edward, in his journal, notices the anger of the lord protector at the marriage of the admiral with the queen dowager. Somerset and his council loudly condemned the presumption of the audacious Sudley, in daring to contract this lofty alliance without leave or licence of those who exercised the authority of the crown. They did what they could to testify their hostility by withholding from queen Katharine all the jewels that had been presented to her by the late king, under the pretext that they were not personal property but heir-looms to the crown. This was touching the lady on a very tender point. "Can a bride forget her ornaments?" is a scriptural query, founded on the characteristic attachment of females for these glittering toys. Neither the equanimity nor the philosophy of this learned queen was proof against such a provocation as the detention of the good and stately gear which had formed a portion of her conjugal wages during the perilous term of her servitude to her royal husband's caprices.

The indignant remonstrances of the royal dowager were unavailing; her jewels were never restored; and that their detention was no less illegal than vexatious, may be gathered from the following observation of the lord admiral:—"My brother is wondrous hot in helping every man to his right save me. He maketh a great matter to let me have the queen's jewels, which you see by the whole opinion of the lawyers ought to belong to me, and all under pretence that he would not the king

should lose so much, as if it were a loss to the king to let me have mine own!"[1]

The loss of her jewels was neither the only affront nor the only wrong to which the queen dowager was subjected from her powerful brother-in-law. He had fixed his mind on obtaining a lease of her favourite manor of Fausterne for a person of the name of Long, and we have seen with what scorn Katharine, in her first letter to the admiral, speaks of his brother's "large offer for Fausterne." The protector, however, strong in the authority of his office, actually caused Long to be admitted as a tenant of her majesty's demesne, in defiance of her wish to retain the property in her own hands. Katharine gives a lively account of her wrath at this outrage in the following letter to her husband.[2] She says—

"My lord,

"This shall be to advertise you that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant; for I suppose else I should have bitten him. What cause have they to fear (she adds playfully) having such a wife? To-morrow, or else upon Saturday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I will see the king, when I intend to utter all my choler to my lord your brother, if you shall not give me advice to the contrary; for I would be loth to do anything to hinder your matter. I will declare to you how my lord hath used me concerning Fausterne; and after, I shall most humbly desire you to direct mine answer to him in that behalf. It liked him to-day to send my chancellor to me, willing him to declare to me that he had brought master Long's lease, and that he doubted not but I would let him enjoy the same to his commodity, wherein I should do to his succession no small pleasure, nothing considering his honour, which this matter toucheth not a little, for so much as I at sundry times declared unto him the only cause of my repair into those parts was for the commodity of that park, which else I would not have done. He, notwithstanding, hath so used the matter, with giving master Long such courage, that he refuseth to receive such cattle as are brought here for the provision of my house; and so in the meantime I am forced to commit them to farmers. My lord, I beseech you send me word with speed how I shall order myself to my new brother. And thus I take my leave with my

[1] State Papers.

[2] Haynes's Burghley Papers.

most humble and hearty commendations, wishing you all your godly desires, and so well to do as I would myself, and better. From Chelsea, in great haste.

"By your humble, true, and loving wife in her heart,

"KATERYN THE QUENE, K. P."[1]

Whether Katharine enjoyed the satisfaction of telling the protector her mind in the presence of his royal nephew does not appear, but she was probably frustrated in her intention of obtaining an interview with the young king, by the party most interested in keeping them apart. Surely so rich a scene as that which she meditated would have been recorded if it had ever taken place. Somerset is supposed to have been excited to this injurious treatment of the widow of his royal master and benefactor, Henry VIII., by the malice of his duchess, who had always borne envious ill will against Katharine Parr.

Many and various are the accounts given by historians of the cause of the fatal animosity of these ladies towards each other. Open hostility between them broke out after the marriage of Katharine with the admiral, in consequence of the duchess of Somerset refusing any longer to fulfil her office of bearing up the train of the queen dowager, alleging, "that it was unsuitable for her to submit to perform that service for the wife of her husband's younger brother."[2] She next objected to give place to her majesty, carrying her insolence so far as to dispute precedence with her in the court of Edward VI. The pretence on which the duchess of Somerset founded her presumptuous claim was, that as the wife of the protector and guardian of the realm she had a right to take place of every lady in England. It is possible that, with the exception of the ladies of the royal family, she might; but the act of Henry VIII., whereby it was provided that Anne of Cleves should take precedency after his queen,

[1] Haynes's State Papers, p. 61. [2] Camden's Elizabeth.

and the princesses his daughters of every other lady in the realm, settled the matter of Katharine Parr's precedency beyond contravention; and the arrogant duchess was compelled to yield, but never forgave the mortification. According to Heylin, the duchess of Somerset was accustomed to inveigh in the bitterest manner against queen Katharine, and actually expressed herself concerning her in the following coarse and detracting language:—"Did not Henry VIII. marry Katharine Parr in his doting days, when he had brought himself so low by his lust and cruelty that no lady that stood on her honour would venture on him. And shall I now give place to her, who, in her former estate, was but Latimer's widow, and is now fain to cast herself for support on a younger brother? If master admiral teach his wife no better manners, I am she that will."[1]

The tender affection which the young king lavished on the queen dowager, and his reverence for her talents, virtue, and piety, excited, of course, the jealousy and ill will, not only of the duchess of Somerset, but of her husband also; and the vulgar insolence of the former was systematically exerted to keep so powerful a rival from the court. The king was certainly far more attached to his uncle Thomas Seymour than to the protector, and Katharine Parr had always been to him in the place of the mother whom he had never known. Allied with them was his best-loved sister Elizabeth, and his amiable and highly-gifted cousin, lady Jane Gray, who were both the *élèves* of the queen, and residing in her house.

[1] Hayward, in his Life of Edward VI., speaks of Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset, "as a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride, monstrous. She was both exceeding violent and subtle in accomplishing her ends, for which she spurned all respects of conscience and shame. This woman did bear such invincible hate to the queen dowager, first, for light causes and woman's quarrels, and especially because she (queen Katharine) had precedency over her, being the wife of the greatest peer in the land."

The project of uniting lady Jane with Edward VI. originated with Katharine Parr, who had directed her education in such a manner as to render her a suitable companion for the royal scholar.

The aspiring protector desired to match king Edward with his own daughter, the learned lady Jane Seymour,[1] and to obtain lady Jane Gray for his son. His plans, were, however, frustrated by a private arrangement between the admiral and the marquis of Dorset, the preliminaries of which were thus arranged. Soon after the death of king Kenry, one Harrington, a confidential officer of sir Thomas Seymour, came to the marquis of Dorset's house, at Westminster, and proposed to him to enter into a close friendship and alliance with his master, who was like to come to very great authority. He advised Dorset to permit his daughter, lady Jane Gray, to reside with sir Thomas Seymour, because he would have the means of matching her much to his comfort.

"With whom will he match her?" asked Dorset.

"Marry," quoth Harrington, "I doubt not you shall see him marry her to the king."[2]

Upon these persuasions, Dorset visited the admiral that day week, at Seymour Place, who gave such explanations of his prospects that Dorset struck a bargain.[3]

[1] The boy king, with more pride than has generally been attributed to him, revolted at the idea of forming an alliance with a kinswoman and a subject. He notes, with dignified displeasure, in that depository of his private thoughts, his journal, the presumptuous project of his uncle Somerset to marry him to his cousin, the lady Jane, observing, that it was his intention to choose for his queen "a foreign princess, well *stuffed and jewelled*," meaning that his royal bride should be endowed with a suitable dower, and a right royal wardrobe.

[2] Those who compare this conversation with the document published by that great historical antiquarian, sir Harris Nicolas, in his Memorials of lady Jane Gray, whereby we learn that the marquis of Dorset sold for five hundred pounds, the wardship of his daughter Jane, to lord Thomas, will be convinced that this bargain, which was by no means a strange one in those detestable times, was struck at this interview.

[3] Tytler's England, vol. i. p. 138.

with him, sent for his daughter, and consigned her to him as an inmate of his house, in which she remained during the life of Katharine Parr.

Queen Katharine's cup-bearer, Nicholas Throckmorton, continued to follow her fortunes from the time of king Henry's decease. The Throckmorton MS. furnishes the following details connected with Katharine's fourth marriage:—

"My sovereign lost, the queen I did attend
The time when widow, mourning she did rest;
And while she married was unto her end,
I willingly obeyed her highness's hest;
Who me esteemed and thought my service good,
Whereas, in truth, to small effect it stood.

"Her husband, fourth, was uncle to the king,
Lord Seymour, high by office, admiral,
In praise of whom loud peals I ought to ring;
For he was hardy, wise, and liberal;
His climbing high, disdained by his peers,
Was thought the cause he lived not out his years.

"Her house was deemed a second court of right,
Because there flocked still nobility;
He spared no cost his lady to delight,
Or to maintain her princely royalty."

After queen Katharine had been the wife of her beloved Seymour some months, there was a prospect of her becoming a mother. Her raptures at the anticipation of a blessing which had been denied to all her other marriages, carried her beyond the bounds of discretion, and her husband was no less transported than herself; the feelings of paternity with them amounted to passion. During a brief separation, while Seymour was at court, vainly soliciting of his brother the restoration of queen Katharine's property, among which not only the late king's gifts, but those of her mother, were unjustly detained, he writes in a very confidential and loving strain to his teeming consort:—

"After my humble commendations and thanks for your letter.

"As I was perplexed heretofore with unkindness, (apprehending) I should not have justice in all my causes from those that I thought would have been partial to me, even so, the receiving of your letter revived my spirits; partly for that I do perceive you be armed with patience, howsoever the matter may fall. But chiefest——"

Here he proceeds to exult in fierce hopes that his expected son "should God give him life to live as long as his father,[1] will revenge his wrongs." * * *

"Now," continues he, "to put you in some hope again. This day, a little before the receiving your letter, I have spoken to my lord, (Somerset,) whom I have so well handled that he is somewhat qualified; and although I am in no hopes thereof, yet I am in no despair. I have also broken to him for your mother's gift; he makes answer, 'that at the finishing of the matter you shall either have your own again, or else some recompence as ye shall be content withal.' I spake to him of your going down into the country[2] on Wednesday, who was sorry thereof, trusting that I would be here all to-morrow, to hear what the Frenchmen will do. But on Monday, at dinner, I trust to be with you. As for the Frenchmen, I have no mistrust that they shall be any let (hindrance) of my going with you this journey, or any of my continuing there with your highness. Thus, till that time, I bid your highness most heartily well to fare, and thank you for your news, which were right heartily welcome to me."

He then expresses his wishes that both the queen and his expected progeny, whom he insists is to be a boy, may be kept in health, "with good diet and walking;" and concludes in these words:—

"And so I bid my most dear and well beloved wife most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, this Saturday, the 9th of June.

"Your highness's most faithful loving husband,

"T. SEYMOUR."

The queen was then at Hanworth, one of the royal manors belonging to her dower; from whence Seymour escorted her to his principal baronial residence—Sudley Castle.

The jealousy with which the duke of Somerset regarded his brother the admiral, operated to prevent, as far as

[1] Tytler's State Papers, entitled "England, under Edward VI. and Mary," 104—106.

[2] To Sudley. This marks the precise time of the queen's retirement thither, where her confinement was to take place.

he could, the slightest intercourse between him and their royal nephew, the young king. The admiral, however, who was bent on superseding Somerset in the office of protector, contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Edward, and to supply him with money, of which he was kept almost destitute.[1] One of the agents of this correspondence was John Fowler, a gentleman of Edward's privy chamber. The following letter shews how vigilantly the young king was beset, and the jealous care taken by Somerset and his satellites to prevent his writing to that beloved step-mother, to whom his heart yearned with not less than filial tenderness:—

JOHN FOWLER TO MY LORD ADMIRAL.

"I most humbly thank your lordship for your letter, dated the 15th of this present, which letter I shewed to the king's majesty; and whereas, in my last letter to your lordship, I wrote unto you, if his grace could get any spare time, his grace would write a letter to the queen's grace and to you.

"His highness desires your lordship to pardon him, for his grace is not *half a quarter of an hour alone*; but in such leisure as his grace had, his majesty hath written here inclosed his commendations to the queen's grace, and to your lordship, that he is so much bound to you that he must needs remember you always; and as his grace may have time you shall well perceive by such small lines of recommendations with his own hand."[2]

Enclosed within Fowler's letter are the royal notes alluded to, written by Edward's own hand on torn and shabby scraps of paper, betraying both the scarcity of that article in the royal escrutoire, and the stealthy manner in which they were penned. The first is a mysterious request for money, addressed to his uncle:—

"My lord,—Send me, per Latimer,[3] as much as ye think good, and deliver it to Fowler. EDWARD."

[1] Haynes's State Papers. Lingard. Tytler.

[2] State Paper MSS.

[3] This was bishop Latimer, who was deeply involved in lord Seymour's secret communications with the young king, though he afterwards spoke of him from the pulpit in very severe terms.

The second of "*these small lines*" is:—

"My lord, I thank you, and pray you to have me commended to the queen."[1]

There is in the context of Fowler's letter an allusion to queen Katharine's situation, with a friendly wish for the birth of the son, of whom both parents were so fondly desirous. He says—"My lady of Somerset is brought to bed of a goodly boy, and I trust in Almighty God the queen's grace shall have another." Fowler's letter is dated July 19th, from Hampton, where the young king then was. Seymour's great object was to get a letter written by king Edward, complaining of the arbitrary conduct of the protector, and the restraint in which he was kept by him. Edward had actually consented to write the letter, which the admiral was to lay before the parliament; but before this could be done, the plot was betrayed to the protector. The admiral was called before the council to answer for his proceedings. He defied them, but when he was threatened with imprisonment in the Tower, he made submissions to his brother, a hollow reconciliation took place for the present, and 800*l.* per annum was added to his appointments by the protector, in the hope of conciliating him.[2]

As long as queen Katharine lived, the admiral was too powerful for his foes; but fickle and unprincipled as he was, he little appreciated her value even in a political and worldly point of view, till it was too late.

The residence of the princess Elizabeth under their roof was fatal to the wedded happiness of Seymour and Katharine. The queen, forgetful that a blooming girl in her fifteenth year was no longer a child, had imprudently encouraged the admiral to romp with her royal step-daughter in her presence. Mrs. Ashley, the princess Elizabeth's governess, in her deposition before the privy

[1] State Paper MSS. [2] Burnet. Lingard. Tytler.

council, gives a lively picture of the coarse manners of the times, in which such proceedings could be tolerated in a palace, and with royal ladies.

"At Chelsea, after my lord Thomas Seymour was married to the queen, he would come many mornings into the said lady Elizabeth's chamber before she were ready, and sometimes before she did rise, and if she were up he would bid her good morrow, and *ax* how she did, and strike her on the back familiarly, and so go forth to his chamber, and sometimes go through to her maidens and play with them. And if the princess were in bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and she would go further in the bed. And one morning he tried to kiss the princess *in* her bed, and this deponent was there, and bade him go away for shame. At Hanworth, for two mornings, the queen (Katharine Parr) was with him, and they both tickled my lady Elizabeth in her bed. Another time, at Hanworth, he romped with her in the garden, and cut her gown, being black cloth, into a hundred pieces, and when Mrs. Ashley came up and chid lady Elizabeth, she answered, 'she could not strive with all, for the queen held her while the lord admiral cut the dress.' Another time, lady Elizabeth heard the master key unlock; and knowing my lord admiral would come in, ran out of her bed to her maidens, and then went behind the curtain of her bed, and my lord tarried a long time in hopes she would come out. Mrs. Ashley could not tell how long. She (Mrs. Ashley) was told these things were complained of, and that the lady Elizabeth was evil spoken of. Then the lord admiral swore—'God's precious soul! I will tell my lord protector how I am slandered; and I will not leave off, for I mean no evil.'

"At Seymour-place, when the queen slept there, he did use awhile to come up every morning in his night-gown

and slippers; when he found my lady Elizabeth up, and at her book, then he would look in at the gallery door, and bid her good morrow, and so go on his way; and the deponent told my lord it was an unseemly sight to see a man so little dressed in a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but he left it. At Hanworth, the queen told Mrs. Ashley 'that my lord admiral looked in at the gallery window, and saw my lady Elizabeth with her arms about a man's neck.' Upon which, Mrs. Ashley questioned her charge regarding it, and the lady Elizabeth denied it, weeping, and bad them *ax* all her women, if there were any man who came to her excepting Grindall, my lady Elizabeth's schoolmaster? Howbeit, Mrs. Ashley thought, the queen being jealous did feign this story to the intent that Mrs. Ashley might take more heed to the proceedings of lady Elizabeth and the lord admiral." The governess added, that her husband, Mr. Ashley, who, it seems, was a relative of Anne Boleyn, did often give warning that he feared the princess did bear some affection to the lord admiral, as she would sometimes blush when she heard him spoken of."[1]

Elizabeth herself told Parry, the cofferer of her household, "that she feared the admiral loved her but too well, and that the queen was jealous of them both; and that, suspecting the frequent access of the admiral to her, she came suddenly upon them when they were alone, he having her in his arms."

Queen Katharine was greatly offended with them both, and very sharply reproved the princess's governess for her neglect of her duty to her royal pupil, in permitting her to fall into such reprehensible freedom of behaviour. Conjugal jealousy apart, Katharine Parr had great cause for anger and alarm; for the princess was under her

[1] Haynes's State Papers.

especial care, and if aught but good befel her at the tender age of fifteen, great blame would, of course, attach to herself, especially if the admiral, whom she had already outraged popular opinion by marrying with indecorous precipitation, were the author of her young stepdaughter's ruin. It is just possible that the actual guilt incurred by the unhappy queen, Katharine Howard, in her girlhood, did not amount to a greater degree of impropriety than the unseemly romping which took place almost every day at Chelsea, between the youthful princess Elizabeth and the bold bad husband of Katharine Parr.

It does not appear that any violent or injurious expressions were used by queen Katharine, but she saw the expediency of separating her household from that of the princess, and acted upon it without delay. There is no reason to believe that she cherished vindictive feelings against Elizabeth; for she continued to correspond with her in a friendly and affectionate manner, as the princess herself testifies in the playful and somewhat familiar letter which is here subjoined:—

LADY ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN.[1]

"Although your highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, considering what pain it is for you to write, your grace being so sickly, your commendations were enough in my lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the country, with my humble thanks that your grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your highness were like to be cumbered if I should not depart till I were weary of being with you; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance; and my mistress[2]

[1] Hearne's Sylloge.

[2] Katharine Ashley, her governess.

wisheth no less, giving your highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Written with very little leisure, this last day of July.

"Your humble daughter,

"ELIZABETH."

This letter, dated within six weeks of the queen's death, affords convincing evidence that she was on amicable terms with her royal step-daughter. She had not only written kindly to Elizabeth, expressing a wish that she were with her at Sudley, but she had even encouraged the admiral to write when not well enough herself to continue the correspondence—a proof that Katharine Parr, though she had considered it proper to put a stop to the dangerous familiarity with which her husband had presumed to demean himself towards her royal charge, did not regard it as anything beyond a passing folly. But even if her heart had been torn with a temporary pang of jealousy, she was too amiable to blight the opening flower of Elizabeth's life by cherishing a feeling so injurious to the honour of the youthful princess. It was not, however, Elizabeth, but the young and early wise lady Jane Gray, who became the companion of Katharine Parr at Sudley Castle, when she withdrew thither to await the birth of her child, and continued with her till the melancholy sequel of Katharine's fond hopes of maternity.

Sudley Castle[1] was royal property, that had been granted to the admiral by the regency on the death of king Henry. It was suspected that lands thus illegally obtained were held on a doubtful tenure. One day, when queen Katharine was walking in Sudley park with her husband and sir Robert Tyrwhitt, she said, "Master Tyrwhitt, you will see the king, when he cometh to full

[1] Sudley Castle is situated in Gloucestershire, and was, even in the reign of Henry IV., a noble building, and when one of the Botelers, its lord, was arrested by Henry IV., he suspected the king of coveting his castle, and looking back at it, said, "Ah! Sudley Castle, thou art the traitor, not I."

age, will call in his lands again as fast as they be now given away from him." "Marry," said Master Tyrwhitt, "then will Sudley Castle be gone from my lord admiral." "Marry," rejoined the queen, "I do assure you he intends to offer to restore them, and give them freely back when that time comes." Queen Katharine had a princely retinue in attendance upon her in her retirement at Sudley Castle, of ladies in waiting, maids of honour, and gentlewomen in ordinary, besides the appointments for her expected nursery and lying-in chamber, and more than a hundred and twenty gentlemen of her household and yeomen of the guard. She had several of the most learned men among the lights of the reformation for her chaplains;[1] and she caused divine worship to be performed twice a day, or oftener, in her house, notwithstanding the distaste of the admiral, who not only refused to attend these devotional exercises himself, but proved a great let and hindrance to all the pious regulations his royal consort strove to establish.[2] This opposition came with an ill grace from Seymour, who, for political purposes, professed to be a reformer, and had shared largely in the plunder of the old church; but in his heart he had no more liking for protestant prayers and sermons than queen Katharine's deceased lord, king Henry.

A few days before her confinement, Katharine received the following friendly letter from the princess Mary:—[3]

"Madame,

"Although I have troubled your highness lately with sundry letters, yet that notwithstanding seeing my lord marques [who hath taken the pains to come to me at this present] intendeth to see your grace shortly, I could not be satisfied without writing to the same, and especially because I purpose to-morrow (with the help of God) to begin my journey towards

[1] Strype, when discussing the anabaptist tenets of an officer of the court, named Robert Cooke, declares, that when Parkhurst was preacher to queen Katharine Parr, Cooke was keeper of the wine cellar. Here he became acquainted with the said Parkhurst, and also with Coverdale and Dr. Turner.

[2] Strype's Memorials. Latimer's Sermons.

[3] Hearne's Sylloge.

Norfolk, where I shall be further from your grace, which journey I have intended since Whitsuntide, but lack of health hath stayed me all the while, which, altho' it be, as yet, unstable, nevertheless I am enforced to remove for a time, hoping, with God's grace, to return again about Michaelmas, at which time, or shortly after, I trust to hear good success of your grace's condition, and in the mean time shall desire much to hear of your health, which I pray Almighty God to continue and increase to his pleasure as much as your own heart can desire; and thus, with my most humble commendations to your highness, I take my leave of the same, desiring your grace to take the pain to make my commendations to my lord admiral.

"From Beaulieu, the 9th of August,

"Your highness's humble and assured loving daughter,

"MARYE."

The lord marquis mentioned by Mary was queen Katharine's only brother, William Parr, marquis of Northampton. His guilty and unhappy wife, the heiress of Essex, was then at Sudley Castle, under some restraint, and in the keeping of her royal sister-in-law. This unpleasant charge must have greatly disquieted the last troubled months of Katharine Parr's life.[1]

On the 30th of August, 1548, Katharine Parr gave birth, at Sudley Castle, to the infant whose appearance had been so fondly anticipated both by Seymour and herself. It was a girl; and though both parents had confidently expected a boy, no disappointment was expressed. On the contrary, Seymour, in a transport of paternal pride, wrote so eloquent a description of the beauty of the new-born child to his brother, the duke of Somerset, that the latter good-naturedly added the following kind postscript to a stern letter of expostulation and reproof, which he had just finished writing to him when he received his joyous communication:—

[1] The marriage between the queen's brother and the frail representative of the royally connected line of Bourchier, was finally dissolved, and the children of the marchioness, by her paramour, declared incapable of succeeding to the honours of Essex or Northampton. So much for the advantages derivable from marriages founded on sordid or ambitious motives. Parr, marquis of Northampton, was thrice wedded, and died without an heir to perpetuate his honours.

"After our hearty commendations,

"We are right glad to understand, by your letters, that the queen, your bedfellow, hath had a happy hour; and, escaping all danger, hath made you the father of so pretty a daughter. And although (if it had pleased God) it would have been both to us and (we suppose) also to you, a more joy and comfort if it had, this the first-born, been a son, yet the escape of the danger, and the prophecy and good hansell of this, to a great sort of happy sons, which (as you write) we trust no less than to be true, is no small joy and comfort to us, as we are sure it is to you and to her grace also, to whom you shall make again our hearty commendations with no less gratulation of such good success.

"Thus we bid you heartily farewell from Sion, the 1st of Sept., 1548,

"Your loving brother,

"E. SOMERSET."[1]

From this letter it is evident that lord Thomas had been casting horoscopes and consulting fortune-tellers, who had promised him long life and a great *sort* of sons.

It is difficult to imagine that the admiral, however faulty his *morale* might be on some points, could cherish evil intentions against her who had just caused his heart to overflow for the first time with the ineffable raptures of paternity. The charge of his having caused the death of queen Katharine by poison can only be regarded as the fabrication of his enemies; neither is there the slightest reason to believe that the unfavourable symptoms which appeared on the third day after her delivery were either caused or aggravated by his unkindness. On the contrary, his manner towards her when she was evidently suffering under the grievous irritability of mind and body incidental to puerperal fever, appears from the deposition of Lady Tyrwhit,[2] one of the most faithful and attached of her ladies, to have been soothing and affectionate. Let the reader judge from the subjoined record of that sad scene in the chamber of the departing queen:—

[1] State Paper MSS.

[2] Lady Tyrwhit was one of the three ladies included by Gardiner and Wriothesley in the bill of indictment they had prepared, with the sanction of the deceased king, against Katharine Parr.

"Two days before the death of the queen," says lady Tyrwhit, "at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me 'where I had been so long,' and said unto me 'that she did fear such things in herself that she was sure she could not live.' I answered, as I thought, 'that I saw no likelihood of death in her.' She then, having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spake these words, partly, as I took, *idly* (meaning in delirium):—'My lady Tyrwhit, I am not well handled, for those that be about me care not for me, but stand laughing at my grief, and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me.' Whereunto my lord admiral answered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt.' And she said to him again, aloud, 'No, my lord, I think so;' and immediately she said to him in his ear, 'but, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts.' These words I perceived she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly; for her mind was sore disquieted. My lord admiral, perceiving that I heard it, called me aside, and asked me what she said, and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me 'that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication,' whereunto I agreed; and by the time that he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him roundly and sharply, saying, 'My lord, I would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Hewyke the first day I was delivered, but I durst not for displeasing you.' And I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great, that my heart would serve me to hear no more. Such like communication she had with him the space of an hour, which they did hear that sat by her bedside."[1]

It is probable that the alarming change in Katharine had been caused, not by any sinister practices against her life, but by whispers circulated among the gossips in

[1] Haynes's State Papers, p. 104.

her lying-in chamber, relating to her husband's passion for her royal step-daughter, and his intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess, in case of her own decease. Her malady was evidently fever, brought on by distress of mind; a sense of intolerable wrong was constantly expressed by her, yet she never explained the cause of her displeasure. She alluded to her delivery, but, strange to say, never mentioned her infant. Wild and gloomy fantasies had superseded the first sweet gushings of maternal love in her troubled bosom, and she appeared unconscious of the existence of the babe she had so fondly anticipated. This symptom with ladies in her situation is generally the forerunner of death, and Katharine breathed her last two days after the scene described by lady Tyrwhit, being the seventh after the birth of her child. She was only in the thirty-sixth year of her age,[1] having survived her royal husband, Henry VIII., but one year, six months, and eight days. Her character is thus recorded by a contemporary quoted by Strype:—

"She was endued with a pregnant wittiness joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the Holy Scriptures; of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness and contemning vain pastimes."

Fuller also, in his Church History, panegyrizes this queen in the highest terms of commendation. The official announcement of queen Katharine Parr's death, together with the programme of her funeral, is copied from a curious contemporary MS. in the College of Arms. Lady Jane Gray, who was with queen Katharine at Sudley Castle at the time of her death, officiated at her funeral solemnity as chief mourner, which is certified in this document.

[1] See her mother, lady Parr's correspondence with lord Dacre, which proves that Katharine Parr was four years younger than has generally been supposed.

"*A breviate of the interment of the lady Katharine Parr, queen dowager, late wife to king Henry VIII., and after wife to sir Thomas, lord Seymour, of Sudley, and high admiral of England.*

"Item, on Wednesday, the 5th of September, between two and three of the clock in the morning, died the aforesaid lady, late queen dowager, at the Castle of Sudley, in Gloucestershire, 1548, and lieth buried in the chapel of the said castle.

"Item, she was cered and chested in lead accordingly, and so remained in her privy chamber until things were in readiness.

"The chapel was hung with black cloth, garnished with scutcheons of marriages;—viz., king Henry VIII. and her in pale under the crown, her own in lozenge under the crown; also the arms of the lord admiral and hers in pale without the crown.

"The rails were covered with black cloth for the mourners to sit within, with stools and cushions accordingly, and two lighted scutcheons stood upon the corpse during the service.

"*The order in proceeding to the chapel.*

"First, two conductors in black, with black staves; then gentlemen and esquires; then knights; then officers of the household, with their white staves; then the gentlemen ushers; then Somerset herald, in the tabard coat; then the corpse, borne by six gentlemen in black gowns, with their hoods on their heads; then eleven staff torches, borne on each side by yeomen round about the corpse, and at each corner a knight for assistance (four), with their hoods on their heads; then the lady Jane (daughter to the lord marquess Dorset), chief mourner, her train borne up by a young lady; then six other lady mourners, two and two; then all ladies and gentlemen, two and two; then yeomen, three and three, in a rank; then all other following.

"*The manner of the service in the church.*

"Item, when the corpse was set within the rails, and the mourners placed, the whole choir began and sung certain psalms in English, and read three lessons; and after the third lesson, the mourners, according to their degrees, and that which is accustomed, offered into the alms-box, and when they had done, all other, as gentlemen or gentlewomen, that would.

"The offering done, doctor Coverdale,[1] the queen's almoner, began his sermon, which was very good and godly, and in one place thereof he took occasion to declare unto the people how that they should none there think, say, nor spread abroad that the offering which was there done was done anything to benefit the dead, but for the poor only; and also the lights, which were carried and stood about the corpse, were for the honour of the person and for none other intent nor purpose; and so went through with his sermon, and made a godly prayer, and the whole

[1] He was in that office at her death, by this document.

church answered and prayed the same with him in the end. The sermon done, the corpse was buried, during which time the choir sung Te Deum in English. And this done, after dined the mourners; and the rest returned homeward again. All which aforesaid was done in a morning."[1]

This curious document presents the reader with the form of the first royal funeral solemnized according to protestant rites.

Queen Katharine's epitaph was written in Latin by her chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich. The translation by an anonymous author is elegant:—

"In this new tomb the royal Katharine lies;
Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise;
A wife, by every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.
To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields—
Seymour, who Neptune's trident justly wields;
From him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parent's charms.
When now seven days this infant flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in its wrath the mother's soul resumed."

The erudite writer who has collected many interesting particulars in the Archæologia of the life of this queen says, "she was tormented and broken-hearted with the pride of her sister-in-law, and the ill-temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last." No instance of personal incivility or harshness on the part of the admiral towards Katharine Parr has, however, been recorded, and he was wont to affirm, with his usual terrible oath, that "no one should speak ill of the queen; or, if he knew it, he would take his fist to the ears of those who did, from the lowest to the highest."[2] The charge of his

[1] From a MS. in the College of Arms, London, entitled, "A Booke of Buryalls of Trew Noble Persons." No. 1—15, pp. 98, 99.

[2] The duke of Somerset, after Katharine Parr's death, obtained a grant of the manor and palace of Marlborough, which had lately formed part of her dower as queen of England, and where there was an ancient royal palace. Strype, vol. ii., p. 538. Chelsea Palace was doomed to a rapid change of owners; for, on the attainder and death of Somerset, it was granted by the young king to the heir of Northumberland, as we find from the following entry in the Augmentation Records:—"Fifth year of

having hastened her death is not only without the slightest proof, but really opposed to the general evidences of history.

The fatal termination of the queen's illness was not anticipated even by the admiral, and how great a shock it was to him, may be gathered from the fact, that in his first perplexity all his political plans were disarranged, and he wrote to the marquess of Dorset to send for lady Jane Gray, as he meant to dismiss his household; but before a month was over, he wrote again to the marquess, saying, "By my last letters, written at a time when with the queen's highness's death I was so amazed that I had small regard either to myself or my doings, and partly then thinking that my great loss must presently have constrained me to have dissolved my whole house, I offered to send my lady Jane unto you whensoever ye would send for her." But having more deeply considered the matter, he found he could continue his establishment, "where shall remain," he adds, "not only the gentlewomen of the queen's highness's privy chamber, but also the maids which waited at large and

Edward VI. All our manor of Chelsea, with all appurtenances, and all that capital mansion-house, late parcel of the possessions of Katharine, late queen of England, instead of Esher, granted to the earl of Warwick, son of the earl of Northumberland." These transfers remind us of Scipio's remark, when bereaved of the stolen crowns: "Thus did brother Chrysostom's goods pass from one thief to another." After the attainder and death of Northumberland, the manor-house of Chelsea was granted by patent to John Caryll, who sold it to James Basset; yet, in the herald's order for the funeral of Anne of Cleves, who died there, July 1557, it is described as crown property. Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, granted it to the widowed duchess of Somerset, who lived there with her second husband, Newdigate, once the occasional tenant of Katharine Parr's second husband, lord Latimer's, town residence in the Charter-house. Lord Cheyney afterwards lived in the palace, having become lord of the manor in the seventeenth century; whence the ground on which stood the palaces of queen Katharine Parr and the bishop of Winchester derived its present name of Cheynè Row, not from the china works, which has been vulgarly supposed. The old palace was finally purchased and pulled down by sir Hans Sloane.

other women who were about her in her lifetime, with an hundred and twenty gentlemen and yeomen." The ambition of lord Thomas Seymour still projected placing a royal partner at the head of his establishment; at present, he invited his aged mother, lady Seymour, to superintend this vast household; and he concluded his letter to Dorset with the assurance "that if he would restore lady Jane Gray as his inmate, lady Seymour should treat her as if she were her daughter."

After this letter, Seymour came to Bradgate, "and," says lord Dorset, "he was so earnestly in hand with me and my wife, that he would have 'no nay,' so that we were contented for her to return to his house; at the same time and place he renewed the favourite project of the deceased queen and himself, that Edward VI. should wed lady Jane Gray, adding, that if he could once get the king at liberty, this marriage should take place." Thus the fair girl was restored to the guardianship of lord Thomas Seymour, and actually remained under his roof till his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower.

After the death of queen Katharine, a deceitful message of condolence was sent to the lord admiral by the duchess of Somerset, who intimated at the same time, that if any grudge were borne by her to him, it was all for the late queen's cause; and now she was taken away by death, it would undoubtedly follow (unless the fault were in himself) that she, the duchess, would bear as good will to him as ever she did before. The admiral accepted the overture for a time, and paid his brother a visit, but soon after gave pretty evident proof that his hostility to Somerset and his party was far from being diminished by the death of Katharine Parr. Indeed, it amounted almost to insanity, after he was deprived of the restraining influence of her sound sense and prudent counsels.

The old dispute touching Fausterne[1] was still a sore point with the admiral, and he fiercely pursued the suit that had been commenced during Katharine's life for the restoration of the jewels and stuff which had been detained from her by the protector and his council. So thoroughly persuaded was the widower of queen Katharine of the justice of the claim, that he appealed to no meaner witness than the princess Mary, requiring her to testify whether the disputed jewels and furniture were a *bonâ-fide* gift made by the deceased king her father to Katharine Parr, or only a loan. In his letter to the princess he says:—

"The queen's highness (whose soul God hath) did ofttimes, in her lifetime, declare unto me upon occasion of talk between us of such jewels and other things as were kept from her possession by my lord my brother, (Somerset;) she said, your grace knew and could testify how and after what sort the king's majesty used to part with things to her—namely, those jewels which he delivered to her against the French admiral's coming in. And forasmuch as it may fortune a further communication will hereafter be had for the due trial of her title unto them, I do most humbly beseech your grace that it will please you to employ so much pains at my poor request as to make me some brief note of your knowledge in two or three lines; as to whether his majesty king Henry did *give* her highness (Katharine Parr) those jewels, and other things that were delivered to her at the French admiral's coming in, and other times, both before and after. Or else, whether he did but lend them for a time, to be returned home again after those triumphs finished; for which time and turn some few in number suppose they were only delivered. Assuring your grace that your opinion declared shall not only much satisfy me in this matter, but also bind me during my life to be at your grace's commandment with anything that lieth in me."[2]

This application was made a little before Christmas. The princess Mary was too prudent to allow herself to be involved in the dispute, and merely in her reply bore testimony to the great love and affection that her late lord and father did bear unto her grace queen Katharine—

[1] See Wightman's Confessions, where it is called Vasterne Park.
[2] Haynes's State Papers.

a testimony of some importance to the biographers of Katharine Parr, but not what Seymour required to establish his right to the contested articles.

Wightman, one of the admiral's servants, subsequently deposed that he was employed by him in copying letters to the keeper of St. James's Palace, and others, requiring them to bear witness, as to the fact, whether the jewels were given to queen Katharine by king Henry, or only lent for the honour of the crown, while she presided at the *fêtes* that were given at Hampton Court to the French ambassador, Claude d'Annebaut, who concluded the peace between England and France, in 1546, as before related?

Seymour made great search among queen Katharine's papers at her late royal residence at Hanworth, in the hope of finding some record affording decisive evidence of the gift. It is to be feared, that among "the great sort of old papers belonging to the late queen Katharine," of which he spake to his servant Wightman, the unthrifty admiral recklessly destroyed as useless, and perhaps dangerous, many a precious letter and record of her queenly, as well as of her early, life, and of her first and second marriages, whereof so few particulars are now to be obtained.[1]

The limits of this work will not admit of detailing the particulars of the intrigues which led to the fall of the admiral. Suffice it to say, that he had organized measures for supplanting his elder brother, the duke of Somerset, in the office of guardian to king Edward. The youthful majesty of England was actually brought before his own council, to be made a witness against his best-beloved uncle, for the purpose of bringing him to the block. Edward confessed that the admiral had privily

[1] It is supposed that many of queen Katharine Parr's letters to her brother the marquis of Northampton, and her sister the countess of Pembroke, perished in the great fire at Wilton.

supplied him with sums of money, of which he had been kept cruelly destitute by the protector; and also, that he had been accustomed to censure the proceedings of the protector, and to desire his removal.

"At another time," says the young king, "within these two years, at least, the admiral lord Thomas Seymour said to me, 'Ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle Somerset is old, and, I trust, will not live long.' I answered, 'It were better he should die.'"[1]

It is worthy of observation, that the marquis of Northampton, Katharine Parr's brother; her brother-in-law, Herbert, earl of Pembroke; and her cousin, Nicholas Throckmorton, all remained the fast friends of the admiral after her death, which they would scarcely have done had they suspected him of unkindness to her, much less of hastening her death. This is the friendly mention of Seymour, in the Throckmorton MS.

"But when my queen lay buried in her grave,
To Musselborough field I mourning went.
The gladsome victory to us God gave;
Home with those tidings I in haste was sent.

"The admiral, my spokesman, was at home,
Who staid his nephew's safety to regard;
He was at all essays my perfect friend,
And patron, too, unto his dying day.

"When men surmised that he would mount too high,
And seek the *second time aloft to match*,
Ambitious hearts did steer something too nigh,
Off went his head, they made a quick dispatch;
But ever since I thought him sure a beast,[2]
That causeless laboured to defile his nest.

"Thus, guiltless, *he* (Seymour) through malice, went to pot,
Not answering for himself, nor knowing cause."

[1] Haynes's State Papers, p. 74.

[2] Throckmorton goes on to blame Somerset severely for the death of his brother, and attributes his subsequent fate to retributive justice.

It is more than probable that the charge of poisoning queen Katharine Parr was devised in order to induce the king, by whom she had been so fondly beloved, to sign the warrant for the execution of her unhappy husband.

Seymour was far from submitting to death, like his contemporaries, with an approbative speech setting forth the justice of his sentence; he knew he had been doomed lawlessly, and he loudly proclaimed the fact on the scaffold. Before he laid his head on the block, he told an attendant of the lieutenant of the Tower, to "bid his man speed the thing he wot of."

This speech was overheard, and Seymour's servant was arrested, and threatened, till he confessed, "that his master had obtained some ink in the Tower, and had plucked off an aglet from his dress, with the point of which he had written a letter to each of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, which he had hidden within the sole of a velvet shoe.[1] The shoe was opened and the letters found, which were, as was natural, full of bitter complaints against his brother, and all who had caused his destruction. Latimer preached a very uncharitable funeral sermon for Seymour, in which he said, "that it was evident God had clean forsaken him; whether he be saved or not I leave it to God, but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him."[2]

Latimer accused lord Thomas Seymour, that when queen Katharine, his wife, had daily prayer morning and afternoon in his house, he would get him out of the way, and was a contemner of the Common Prayer. Among his misdeeds it was mentioned, that a woman, in 1540, being executed for robbery, declared that the beginning of her evil life was being seduced and deserted by lord Thomas Seymour.[3] He made no religious profession on the scaf-

[1] Tytler's State Papers, England. Lingard. Strype.
[2] Latimer's Sermons.
[3] Strype, vol. ii., part i. p. 197.

fold; and, according to the account given in his funeral sermon, he died "irksomely, dangerously, and horribly."

These accusations against the unfortunate husband of Katharine Parr are somewhat softened by the religious and philosophic verses he was known to write the week before his death:[1]

"Forgetting God, to love a king,
Hath been my rod, or else nothing
In this frail life, being a blast
Of care and strife till it be past.
Yet God did call me in my pride,
Lest I should fall, and from him slide;
For whom he loves he must correct,
That they may be of his elect.
Then, death, haste thee, thou shalt me gain
Immortally with God to reign.
Lord send the king in years as Noè,
In governing this realm in joy;
And after this frail life such grace,
That in thy bliss he may find place."

The admiral was beheaded on Tower-hill, March 20th, 1549. There was only an interval of two years, one month, and three weeks between the death of Katharine's third husband, king Henry VIII, and the execution of her fourth, who survived her just six months and fourteen days. The only child of queen Katharine and lord Sudley was named Mary. It is probable that lady Jane Gray was her godmother, as she was at Sudley Castle at the time of her birth, and acted as chief mourner at the funeral of her royal mother. As the sole representative of both parents, the young Mary Seymour ought to have been the heiress of great wealth; and even if the act of attainder, which had been passed on her father, operated to deprive her of the broad lands

[1] Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii., p 328. Sir John Harrington the elder, who has preserved these verses, was the officer of lord Seymour, and cherished the utmost regard for his memory. He wrote a grand poetical portrait of his master.

of Sudley and the rest of his possessions, she was fully entitled to inherit the large fortune of the queen dowager her mother, if she had had friends to assert her rights.

"This high-born infant lady," says Strype, "destitute already both of her mother queen Katharine and her lately executed father, remained a little while at her uncle Somerset's house at Sion; and then, according to her father's dying request, was conveyed to Grimsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, where Katharine, dowager duchess of Suffolk lived. There she was brought, with her governess, Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants, consonant to the high quality to which for their own misery her unfortunate parents had been advanced. Her uncle, the duke of Somerset, upon her leaving Sion, promised that a certain pension should be settled upon her for her maintenance, and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture brought to Sion house was to be sent after her when she went to Grimsthorpe." So the duchess of Somerset promised Mr. Bertie, the duchess of Suffolk's servant, and afterwards her husband, but consonant to the detestable conduct of the Somerset family, these promises in behalf of the poor orphan were never fulfilled.[1]

Katharine, duchess of Suffolk, had been honoured with the friendship of the deceased queen, and she had by her favour and protecting influence been preserved from the fiery persecution, which had marked the closing years of Henry VIII.'s reign; and she had the greater need of a powerful patroness, since she had, by her cutting raillery, provoked the enmity of Bonner and Gardiner both. She held the same religious tenets as the late queen, whom she professed to regard as a saint;

[1] Strype, vol. ii., p. 201. Strype declares, the attainder, which robbed the poor babe of all, was taken off. Burnet and the Parliamentary History affirm the direct contrary.

and, it might have been expected that she would have cherished the orphan babe of her royal friend, with not less than maternal tenderness. The worldly spirit and sordid temper of the young duchess are, however, sufficiently apparent in her letters to her friend Cecil, on the subject of the incumbrance and expense of the hapless little one, who had become the unwelcome recipient of her charity.

To Mr. Cecil.[1]

"It is said that the best means of remedy to the sick is first plainly to confess and disclose the disease wherefore lieth for remedy; and again, for that my disease is so strong that it will not be hidden, I will discover me unto you. First, I will as it were under Benedicite, and in high secrecy, declare unto you that all the world knoweth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very beggar I am. This sickness, as I have said, I promise you increaseth mightily upon me. Amongst other causes whereof is, you will understand not the least, the queen's child hath lain, and yet doth lie, at my house, with her company about her wholly at my charges. I have written to my lady Somerset at large; which was the letter I wrote, note this, with mine own hand unto you; and among other things for the child, that there may be some pension allotted unto her, according to my lord's grace's promise. Now, good Cecil, help at a pinch all that you may help. My lady also sent me word at Whitsuntide last, by *Bartue* that my lord's grace, at her suit, had granted certain nursery plate should be delivered with the child; and lest there might be stay for lack of a present bill of such plate and stuff as was there in the nursery, I send you here inclosed of all parcels as were appointed out for the child's only use; and that ye may the better understand that I cry not before I am pricked, I send you mistress Eglonby's (governess) letter unto me, who, with the maids, *nouricc*, and others, daily call on me for their wages, whose voices mine ears may hardly bear, but my coffers much worse. Wherefore, I cease, and commit me and my sickness to your diligent care, with my hearty commendations to your wife. At my manor of Grymesthorpe, the 27th of August.

"Your assured loving friend,

"K. Suffolk."[2]

[1] Lansdowne MSS., No. II., art. 16, edited by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ.

[2] This sharp-witted lady was the only child and heiress of William, lord Willoughby, and the fourth wife and widow of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. She married her factotum, Richard Bertie, esq., the ancestor of the lords Willoughby d'Eresby. His name is variously spelled by his mistress—sometimes Bartue, sometimes Barty.

This curious letter is indorsed thus:—

"To my loving friend, Mr. Cecil, attendant upon my lord protector's grace."

"From my lady of Suffolk's grace to my Mr. ——, concerning the queen's child, nursed at her house at Grimesthorpe, with a bill of plate belonging to the nursery. Anno 2 Ed. VI."

From the terms of the letter it appears, that even the paltry modicum in the list subjoined, of the good and stately gear which of right belonged to the neglected infant of queen Katharine Parr, were withheld by her rapacious uncle Somerset and his pitiless wife.

"A bill of all such plate and other stuff as belongyth to the nursery of the queen's child:—

"First, 2 pots of silver, all white. Item, 3 goblets, silver, all white. One salt, silver, parcel gilt. A *maser*, (wooden cup,) with a band of silver, parcel gilt. 11 spoons, silver, all white. Item, a quilt for the cradle, 3 pillows, and 1 pair fustians. 3 feather beds, 3 quilts, 3 pair fustians. Item, a tester of scarlet, embroidered with a counterpoint of silk serge, belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffeta. Item, 2 counterpoints of imagery for the nurse's bed. Item, 6 pair of sheets of little worth. 6 fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber. 4 carpets for windows. 10 pieces of hangings of the twelve months within the outer chamber. Item, 2 cushions cloth of gold, and a chair of cloth of gold, 2 wrought stools, and a bedstead gilt, with a tester and counterpoint, with curtains belonging to the same."

The fair hangings and the embroidered scarlet tester and counterpoint were doubtless wrought by the skilful hands of the royal mother and her ladies in waiting, to adorn the apartments and the cradle of the fondly expected babe, whose birth cost her her life. How little did poor Katharine anticipate, that before that child had completed its first year of life, it was to be deprived of both parents, plundered of its princely inheritance, and even of the small remnant of plate and tapestry belonging to its nursery appointments, and thrown a helpless burden on the sufferance of a forgetful friend! In the list of the little Mary Seymour's effects is the following item:—

"2 milch beasts, which were belonging to the nursery, the which it may please your grace (Somerset) to write may be bestowed upon the 2 maids towards their marriages, which shall be shortly. Item, one lute."[1]

Eleven months after the date of this application, the persevering duchess writes again to her friend Cecil, assuring him that she had wearied herself with her letters to the protector and his lady on the same subject, and that she must again trouble him to press her suit to them both. "In these my letters to my lady," she says, "I do put her in remembrance for the performance of her promise, touching some small pension, for my kindness to the late queen's child, for it is with a dozen servants living altogether at my charge, the continuance of which will not bring me out of debt this year. My lord marquis of Northampton, to whom I should deliver her, hath as bad a back for such a burden as I have. He would receive her, but not willingly, if he must receive her train."[2]

This letter is dated July 24th, 1549.

The conduct of the marquis of Northampton was even more heartless than that of the duchess of Suffolk towards his sister's orphan daughter, since he was the person who was by nature bound to cherish and protect her person, and to vindicate her right to inherit the possessions of her deceased parents; but he having obtained for himself a grant of a portion of his infant niece's patrimony,[3] was unwilling to give her and her attendants a home. The brother of Katharine Parr, united with her

[1] Lansdowne MS.

[2] Unpublished MS., State Paper Office, Edward VI.

[3] On the attainder of Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley, the manor of Sudley was granted to William, marquis of Northampton; and on his attainder by queen Mary, it was granted to lord Chandos; from thence, by a marriage and heirship, down to lord Rivers, of Strathfieldsaye; and the circumference of the castle was bought, about A.D. 1826, by the duke of Buckingham and Chandos. It is now the property of Mr. Dent.

soi-disant friend Katharine, duchess of Suffolk, in editing and publishing the devotional writings of that queen, though they grudged a shelter and food to her only child.

The destitution of the unoffending infant of queen Katharine was completed by an act of parliament, entitled, "An act for disinheriting Mary Seymour, daughter and heir of the late lord Sudley, admiral of England, and the late queen."[1] Another act *for the restitution* of Mary Seymour, passed January 21st, 1549, 3 Edward VI.,[2] yet we find her uncle retained possession of Sudley.

The historical records connected with queen Katharine's only child, close with this act. Her aunt, the learned Anne, countess of Pembroke,[3] the only sister of Katharine Parr, died in the year 1551, at Baynard's Castle, so that the little lady Mary Seymour could not have found a home with her; and whether she was actually transferred to her unwilling uncle, the marquis of Northampton, or remained, which is more probable, under the care of the duchess of Suffolk, is not known. Strype says she died young. Lodge affirms, but on what authority he does not state, "that the only child of the admiral lord Thomas Seymour, by queen Katharine Parr, died in her thirteenth year." There is, however, more reason to believe that she lived to be a wife and mother. The statements with which I have been favoured by Johnson Lawson, Esq., of Grove Villa, Clevedon, and his brother, Henry Lawson, Esq., of Hereford, the sons of the late very reverend Johnson Lawson, dean of Battle, in Sussex, vicar of Throwley, and rector of Cranbrook, in Kent, affords, at any

[1] Drake's Parliamentary History. Burnet.
[2] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i., p. 15.
[3] Her portrait, and that of her lord, painted on glass, is still extant in the chapel of Wilton. The present earl of Pembroke is her descendant.

rate, presumptive evidence that they derive their descent from this lady. The authentic records of this fact appear to have been destroyed, among a mass of interesting genealogical papers that were in the possession of a clergyman of the Lawson family, and on his death were consigned to the flames by his widow, "as she had no children to give them to," she said. One precious MS. fragment of the pedigree had, however, fortunately escaped the notice of this destructive dame, who would certainly have been branded by Anthony à Wood with the epithet "of a clownish woman," and it contains a family record of the marriage and posterity of the daughter of Katharine Parr.

Copy of MS. fragment, entitled, "A good account of my pedigree given me by my grandmother, July 26th, 1749."

"Paul Johnson, a gentleman of good family and estate, residing at his mansion at Fordwich, in the county of Kent, also, having another named Nethercourt, in the Isle of Thanet, married Margaret Heyman, (of the Baronet's family of Kent and Norfolk.)

"Their son, *Sylas Johnson*, married the daughter of sir Edward Bushel,[1] who had married the only daughter of the Duke of Somerset's younger brother, lord Seymour, which daughter the lord Seymour had by queen Katharine Parr, whom he married after the death of Harry the Eighth, whose queen she was. The above sir Edward Bushel's daughter was a great fortune to Silas Johnson; and their daughter, *Mary Johnson*, married the Rev. Francis Drayton, of little Chart, in Kent, where he and his wife lie buried."—From that marriage, the records

[1] The Bushels were a very ancient and honourable family, and sir Edward Bushel, probably the same person referred to in the Lawson pedigree, was a gentleman of the household to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I., and with nine other knights assisted in bearing her body to the grave.

of the pedigree down to Lawson, are very clear and certain, and need not lengthen this statement.

Whether from any records, or knowledge, or tradition, the old grandmother declared the marriage of Katharine's daughter to sir Edward Bushel, it is impossible now to say in 1841; but it seems that Silas Johnson, by his marriage with their daughter, Mary Bushel, obtained a great fortune, together with some relics of Katharine Parr's personal property, which have continued in the Lawson family, their descendants, ever since. They are thus described by Johnson Lawson Esq., in whose possession they are at present:—

"A fine damask napkin, which evidently was made for, and brought from Spain by Katharine of Arragon, the first queen of Henry VIII. The beautiful pattern therein exhibits the spread eagle, with the motto, '*Plus Oultre*,' four times; and on the dress of four men blowing trumpets, attired in the Spanish garb as matadors, are the letters K.I.P, (probably Katharine Infanta Princess). And this napkin, in the palace of Henry VIII., must have passed through the hands of *six queens!* down to Katharine Parr. The second relic is the royal arms of the king Henry, engraved on copper in cameo, which were set in the centre of a large pewter dish —the table service in those times was usually pewter."

In the absence of those *bona fide* vouchers of the marriage of the young lady Mary Seymour, which have been destroyed by time, by accident, or wanton ignorance, it may be conjectured that the duchess of Suffolk, after her marriage with Richard Bertie and her subsequent flight from the Marian persecution, provided for her youthful protégé by an honourable marriage with sir Edward Bushel, though certainly much beneath the alliances which would have courted her acceptance, had she not been wrongfully deprived of the great

wealth she ought to have inherited, as the only child of queen Katharine Parr. The Lawsons who claim their descent from the daughter of Katharine Parr, are a branch of the ancient family of the Lawsons of Yorkshire and Westmoreland, and bear the same arms.

Queen Katharine Parr was originally interred on the north side of the altar of the then splendid chapel of Sudley, and a mural tablet of sculptured alabaster was placed above her tomb. The chapel is now despoiled, desecrated, and in ruins, the roofless walls alone remaining. The notice of queen Katharine's death and interment, from the document in the Heralds' Office, having been published in "Rudde's History of Gloucestershire," some ladies, who happened to be at Sudley Castle, in May, 1782, determined to examine the ruined chapel. Observing a large block of alabaster fixed in the north wall of the chapel, they imagined that it might be the back of a monument that had once been fixed there. Led by this hint, they had the ground opened not far from there, and not above a foot from the surface they found a leaden envelope, which they opened in two places, on the face and breast, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cere-cloth. Upon removing what covered the face, they discovered the features, particularly the eyes, in the most perfect state of preservation. Alarmed with this sight, and with the smell which came from the cerecloth, they ordered the earth to be thrown in immediately, without closing over the cerecloth and lead which covered the face, only observing enough of the inscription to convince them it was the body of queen Katharine.[1]

In the same summer, Mr. John Lucas, the person who rented the land on which the ruins of the chapel stand, removed the earth from the leaden coffin, which

[1] Archæologia.

lay the depth of about two feet, or little more, below the surface. On the lid appeared an inscription, of which the following is a true copy:—

K. P.
Here lyeth Quene
Katharine vith wife to Kyng
Henry the VIIIth And
after the wif of Thomas
lord of Suddeley high
Admyrall of ye England
And vnkle to Kyng
Edward the VJ.
She died
September
MCCCCC
XLVIIJ.

Mr. Lucas had the curiosity to rip up the top of the coffin, and found the whole body, wrapped in six or seven linen cerecloths entire, and uncorrupted, although it had lain there upwards of two centuries and a half. He made an incision through the cerecloths which covered one of the arms of the corpse, the flesh of which at that time was white and moist.[1] The perfect state in which the body of queen Katharine Parr was found affords a convincing evidence that her death was not occasioned by poison, for in that case almost immediate decomposition would have taken place, rendering the process of embalming ineffectual if not impracticable. The repose of the buried queen was again rudely violated by ruffian hands in the spring of 1784, when the royal remains were taken out of the coffin, and irreverently thrown on a heap of rubbish and exposed to public view. An ancient woman, who was present on that occasion, assured my friend, Miss Jane Porter, some years afterwards, that the remains of costly burial clothes were on the body, not a shroud but a dress, as if in life: shoes were

[1] Rudde's Hist. of Gloucestershire. Archæologia.

on the feet, which were very small, and all her proportions extremely delicate; and she particularly noticed, that traces of beauty were still perceptible in the countenance, of which the features were at that time perfect, but, by exposure to the air and other injurious treatment, the process of decay rapidly commenced. Through the interference of the vicar, the body was re-interred. In October, 1786, a scientific exhumation was made by the Rev. Tredway Nash, F.A.S., and his interesting and valuable report has been published in the "Archæologia,"[1] from which the following abstract is given:—

"In 1786, October 14, having obtained leave of lord Rivers, the owner of Sudley Castle, with the Hon. J. Somers-Cocks, the writer proceeded to examine the chapel. Upon opening the ground, and tearing up the lead, the face was found totally decayed; the teeth, which were sound, had fallen.

"The body was perfect, but out of delicacy they forbore to uncover it. Her hands and nails were entire, of a brownish colour.

"The queen must have been of low stature, as the lead that enclosed her corpse was just five feet four inches long. The cerecloth consisted of many folds of linen, dipped in wax, tar, and gums, and the lead fitted exactly to the shape of the body.

"It seems, at first, extraordinary that she should be buried so near the surface; but we should consider that the pavement, and perhaps some earth, had been taken away since she was first interred. As she was buried within the communion rails, probably the ground was three feet higher than the rest of the chapel.

[1] In vol. ix. of Archæologia, 1787, being the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, with a plate of the exterior of the beautiful chapel when perfect, and of the encased body, with a fac-simile of the inscription on the lead.

"I could heartily wish more respect were paid to the remains of this amiable queen, and would willingly, with proper leave, have them wrapped in another sheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in another place, that at least her body might rest in peace; whereas the chapel where she now lies is used for the keeping of rabbits, which make holes, and scratch very irreverently about the royal corpse."

The chapel seems a beautiful miniature of Eton.

The last time the coffin of queen Katharine Parr was opened, it was discovered that a wreath of ivy had entwined itself round the temples of the royal corpse, a berry having fallen there and taken root at the time of her previous exhumation, and there had silently, from day to day, woven itself into this green sepulchral coronal. A lock of hair, which was taken from the head of queen Katharine Parr, after it had lain in the dust and darkness of the grave for nearly two centuries and a half, was kindly sent for my inspection by Mrs. Constable Maxwell. It was of the most exquisite quality and colour, exactly resembling threads of burnished gold in its hue; it was very fine, and with an inclination to curl naturally.

"The ruined chapel of Sudley with the very small remains of the castle, now a farm-house, were visited by me," says Mr. Lawson, "A.D. 1828, and I am sorry to report that queen Katharine's remains have not been re-deposited with the honour and historical respect due to the royal and noble lady; for, instead of their being replaced within the walls in their own grave, and secured from further intrusion, they are buried in a lean-to-building outside the north wall, in which divine service is sometimes performed, to preserve the right as a parochial church." How much better it would be to restore the chapel itself for this purpose, and to erect a suitable

monument to the memory of Katharine Parr.[1] Surely some mark of consideration and grateful respect is due from this country to the memory of our first protestant queen; and if the owner of the soil which covers her sacred dust does not endeavour to preserve her remains from further outrage, the bishop of the diocese is called upon to devise some suitable protection for the desecrated grave of this royal lady, to whom the church of England owes the preservation of the university of Cambridge.

With Katharine Parr closes the records of the queens consort of England. The next two queens of England, Mary I. and Elizabeth, were sovereigns; and, with the queen of James I., Anne of Denmark, the series of queens of Great Britain will commence.

[1] Sudley Castle has recently been repaired, and some portion of it restored by Mr. Dent, the present possessor, who has also, we understand, placed a grated screen before Katharine Parr's monumental tablet, to preserve it from being carried away piecemeal by the dishonest and destructive collectors of mementos of celebrated persons and places—a species of relic-hunting, which has caused of late years irreparable damage to many precious works of art, the ruin of some of the most venerable remains of antiquity, and, in many instances, amounted to the crime of sacrilege. It is to be hoped that a practice so truly childish and unconscientious will be abandoned by all persons who imagine they possess the slightest claims to good taste and good feeling. The time-honoured memorials of historical facts are witnesses sacred to the cause of truth, and as such they should be venerated and protected from the outrages of ignorance and folly in a nation whose greatest boast is the increase of refinement, which the increase of education is extending now even to the humblest grades of life.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Mary at Greenwich—Only surviving child of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon—Her state governess—Nurse—Baptism—Sponsors—Infancy—Presented in infancy to the Venetian ambassadors—Her father's fondness—Nursery establishment—Her court and receptions in infancy—Her early musical attainments—Abode at Ditton Park—Presents in infancy—Sponsor to a child—Betrothed at six years old to Charles V.—Her tutors and education—Her message to the emperor—Her betrothment broken—Grand establishment at Ludlow—Person and manners—Attainments—Offered in marriage to Francis I.—Dances at court with her father—Verses—Mary appears in court masques and ballets—Commencement of divorce of Katharine of Arragon—Reginald Pole—His defence of Mary and queen Katharine's rights—Mary separated from her mother—Her dangerous illnesses—Her father and mother divorced—Anne Boleyn crowned queen—Katharine of Arragon's letter to Mary—Mary present at the birth of Elizabeth—Refuses to call her sister princess—Mary's letters—Resistance to her degradation—Her household at Beaulieu broken up—Calamitous reverses—Her life threatened—Refused access to her mother's death-bed—Death of her mother, queen Katharine.

MARY, our first queen regnant, was the only child of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon who reached maturity; she first saw the light on the banks of the Thames, at Greenwich Palace, on Monday, at four in the morning, February 18, 1516. As she was a healthy babe, her birth consoled her parents for the loss of the two heirs male, who had preceded her, nor in her childhood was her father ever heard to regret her sex. The queen confided

her to the care of her beloved friend, the countess of Salisbury (Margaret Plantagenet); and the royal infant's first nourishment was supplied by one of that lady's family. Katharine, the wife of Leonard Pole, was Mary's wet-nurse.

The princess was, according to custom, baptized the third day after her birth. The silver font, in which the children of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII. had been christened, once more travelled from Christ Church, Canterbury, to the Grey Friars, adjacent to Greenwich Palace. Carpets were spread for the royal babe's procession from the palace to the font, which was placed in the Grey Friars' church, guarded by knights-banneret. The godmothers were, the princess Katharine Plantagenet and the duchess of Norfolk. The infant was carried by the countess of Salisbury;[1] the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both uncles to the princess by marriage, walked on each side of her. Cardinal Wolsey was godfather. She was named Mary after the favourite sister of Henry VIII. When the baptism was finished, the countess of Salisbury knelt at the altar with her infant charge in her arms, who received the preliminary rite of confirmation or bishoping, the countess being her sponsor at that ceremony. Various rich presents were bestowed on the princess Mary by her sponsors and relatives, who assisted at her baptism.[2] Cardinal Wolsey gave a gold cup; her aunt, Mary Tudor, gave her niece and name-child a pomander of gold.[3] The princess Katharine gave a gold spoon; and the duchess of Norfolk

[1] Herald's Journal, Harleian MSS.

[2] Household book of princess Mary, 1517.

[3] The pomander of gold was a hollow ball, which opened to admit a ball of paste, formed of rich perfumes, the pomander being perforated, to diffuse the scent. It was hung at the girdle, and sometimes carried in the hand. It was not unfit for a baby's plaything, though an article of jewellery used by the belles of those days.

presented a primer, being a book richly illuminated, of catholic offices of devotion.

Mary was reared, till she was weaned, in the apartments of the queen her mother,[1] and the first rudiments of her education were commenced by that tender parent as soon as she could speak. Both Henry and Katharine were in the habit of dandling Mary; and holding her in their arms after dinner. Sebastian Justianiani, the Venetian ambassador, observes in his despatches, dated March 1st, 1518,[2] that "Henry VIII. came to his palace called Windsor, about twenty miles from London, and dined there. The king then took from the arms of the serene queen Katharine, his little daughter, at that time about two years old, and carried her to Cardinal Wolsey and to our ambassador, who kissed her hand."

The nursery establishment of the princess was occasionally stationed at Ditton Park, in Buckinghamshire. The royal infant was often ferried over the Thames to Windsor Castle, when her parents sojourned there. Her education must have commenced at a very tender age, if her early attainments in music may be taken in evidence.

After the first months of her infancy no more payments occur to Katharine Pole, as her wet-nurse, but the care of her person was consigned to lady Margaret Bryan, the wife of sir Thomas Bryan, who was called the lady mistress. This lady superintended the temperate meals of the royal infant, which consisted of one dish of meat, with bread. The countess of Salisbury was state governess and head of the household, the annual expenses of which amounted to 1100*l.*;[3] sir Weston Browne

[1] Poem of William Forrest, chaplain to queen Mary, quoted by sir F. Madden, Privy Purse Expenses of Mary, cxix.

[2] Copied from the diaries of Martin Sanuto, in St. Marco's library, by Rawden Browne, esq.

[3] Household book of the princess Mary.

was chamberlain, Richard Sydnour, treasurer and accountant; Alice Baker, gentlewoman of the bedchamber, at a salary of £10, and Alice Wood, laundress, had 33 shillings half yearly. Sir Henry Rowte, priest, was chaplain and clerk of the closet at an allowance of sixpence per day. Ditton Park and Hanworth were the earliest residences of the princess's childhood; but while her parents were absent in France, at the celebrated field of the cloth of gold, she seems to have kept court in royal state at their palace of Richmond. Here the privy council frequently visited her, and sent daily details of her health and behaviour to her absent parents, or to Cardinal Wolsey. Some foreign strangers were introduced by the order of the king to the royal child, who, though little more than three years old, had to sit up in state, greet them courteously and rationally, and, finally, to amuse them by playing on the virginals. She must have been a musical prodigy, if at that tender age she could play a tune correctly on a musical instrument. The visit of three Frenchmen of rank to the princess is thus described by the privy council:[1]—"After they had been shewn everything notable in London, they were conveyed in a barge, by the lord Berners and the lord Darcy, to Richmond, when they repaired to the princess, and found her right honourably accompanied with noble personages, as well spiritual as temporal, and her house and chambers furnished with a proper number of goodly gentlemen and tall yeomen. Her presence chamber was attended, besides the lady-governess and her gentlewomen, by the duchess of Norfolk and her three daughters, the lady Margaret, wife to the lord Herbert, the lady Gray, lady Neville, and the lord John's wife. In the great chamber were many other gentle-

[1] Letter from the council to Wolsey, dated July 2nd, 1520, printed by sir Harris Nicolas. Privy Council of Henry VIII., pp. 339, 340.

women well apparelled. And when the gentlemen of France came into the presence chamber to the princess, her grace in such wise shewed herself unto them in welcoming and entertaining them with most goodly countenance, proper communication, and pleasant pastime in playing on the virginals, that they greatly marvelled and rejoiced at the same, her tender age considered." The infant royal performer must have been exceedingly docile and well trained, not only to receive and speak properly to foreign strangers, but to play her tunes when required. The instrument here mentioned was the first rude idea our ancestors had formed of a piano: it was a miniature keyed instrument contained in a box about four feet long, with an ivory or boxwood finger-board, limited to two or three octaves, and was, when wanted, placed on a table before the performer. When the little princess had exhibited her infantine skill on this instrument, refreshments were served to her foreign guests of strawberries, wine, wafers, and ypocras. The council, in another letter, thus mentions the princess again:—"Since our last writing we have sundry times visited and seen your dearest daughter the princess, who, God be thanked, is in prosperous health and convalescence; and like as she increaseth in days and years, so doth she in grace and virtue."

General history is not silent regarding Mary's infantine musical attainments. In the Italian history of Pollino it is asserted, that Mary played on the virginals, or *arpicordo*, which is the same name as the *harpsichord*. The Italian seems to designate by it the clavichord. "These she used to play on," he adds, "when a very little child; and she had so far mastered the difficulties as to have a light and rapid touch, with much grace and velocity."

When her royal parents returned to England, Mary went back to her nursery at Ditton Park, but she made

a long visit to the king and queen the succeeding Christmas. She was a very lovely infant, her complexion rosy, and her eyes brown, and right merry and joyous; it is not probable that the king, who was passionately fond of children, could part from an attractive prattler of that age. Accordingly she remained at Greenwich till after her fourth birthday. The Christmas gifts made to the princess this year were numerous, and some of them very costly. There was, however, but one article calculated to please a little child; this was a rosemary-bush hung with spangles of gold, brought for her by a poor woman of Greenwich; it was, perhaps, like the Christmas tree, which gives such delight to the German children. Cardinal Wolsey sent her a gold cup; the princess Katharine Plantagenet, two small silver flagons; queen Mary Tudor, another golden pomander; her nurse, lady Margaret Bryan, a crimson purse tinselled; and the duke of Norfolk, a pair of silver snuffers.[1] The princess was amused by the performance of a company of children who acted plays for her diversion; and in her accounts 6*s.* 8*d.* is given to a man who managed the little actors, as a reward. This man, it appears, was Heywood, the dramatic author.

The succeeding Christmas was spent by the princess Mary at Ditton Park, where, among the diversions of

[1] The use of snuffers at this era is a proof that England had surpassed other nations in luxury, although there was still great need of improvement in manners and customs. In the northern countries, the use of snuffers was not comprehended for centuries afterwards. King Gustavus Adolphus replied to one of his officers, who declared "that he never knew what fear was," "Then you never snuffed a candle," meaning, with his fingers. The delicate way of trimming the duke of Holstein's candles forms a laughable page in Raumer's collections; and even in the beginning of the present century, a Swedish officer, dining at an English gentleman's table, seized the snuffers, and, after curiously examining them, snuffed the candles with his fingers, and carefully gathering up the snuff, shut it in the snuffers, commending the cleanliness of the English in providing such a receptacle.

the season, a lord of misrule, one John Thurgood, was appointed to "make mirth for herself and household, with morrice dancers, masks, carillons, and hobby horses." After Christmas, she crossed the Thames to Windsor, and there received her new year's gifts:—from the king, a standing cup of silver gilt, filled with coin; from Cardinal Wolsey, a gold salt set with pearls; and from her aunt, princess Katharine, a gold cross.

The princess made her Candlemas offering that year at Hanworth, and thence proceeded to Richmond, where her mother, the queen, sent her barge to convey her to Greenwich. The same month she stood godmother to the infant daughter of sir William Compton, to whom she gave the name of Mary; at the baptism, the lady-mistress, Margaret Bryan, distributed 33*s.* to the attendants. This office of standing godmother made a pleasing impression on the memory of the princess of five years old, since it was often reiterated; she must have stood godmother to more than a hundred children.

More than one negotiation had been in agitation for the marriage of the young princess with the dauphin, heir to Francis I., while she was yet in her cradle; but neither Henry VIII. nor Francis I. appear to have been sincere in their intentions. In the summer of 1522 she was brought to Greenwich, where the queen her mother, holding her by the hand at the hall-door of the palace, there introduced her to the emperor Charles V., on his landing with king Henry from his barge at the water-stairs. It was the wish of queen Katharine's heart that this great emperor, her nephew, might become her son-in-law, and all the political arrangements between him and her husband seemed to favour that wish. The emperor, who was then a young man, in his twenty-third year, came expressly to England for betrothal to his cousin Mary, a child of six years old. He passed five

weeks in England; so the little princess became well acquainted with him, and learned, young as she was, to consider herself as his empress.

By a solemn matrimonial treaty, signed at Windsor, the emperor engaged to marry the princess Mary when she attained her twelfth year; he was in the meantime exceedingly desirous that she should be sent to Spain, that she might be educated as his wife. But the doting affection of her parents could not endure the separation. The emperor's visit caused the expenditure of the princess's establishment to amount to the great sum of 1139*l.* 6*s.* 1½*d.* The care of Mary's excellent mother was now sedulously directed to give her child an education that would render her a fitting companion to the greatest sovereign of modern history, not only in regard to extent of dominions, but in character and attainments. To Dr. Linacre, the learned physician, who had formerly been one of prince Arthur's tutors,[1] was entrusted the care of the princess Mary's health, and some part of her instruction in Latin, the queen her mother (as appears by her own written testimony) often examining her translations and reading with her. Linacre died when the princess was but eight years of age, having first written a Latin grammar for her use. It was dedicated to her, and he speaks with praise of her docility and love of learning at that tender age. The copy belonging to the princess is now in the British Museum.

Queen Katharine requested Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard of deep learning, who was called by his contemporaries the second Quintillian, to draw up a code of instructions for the education of Mary. He sent a treatise in Latin, dedicated to the queen, from Bruges, and afterwards came to England, and at Oxford revised

[1] Biographia Britannica. Linacre dedicated to his royal pupil one of his grammatical works.

and improved it. He thus addresses Katharine of Arragon :—" Govern by these my monitions Maria thy daughter, and she will be formed by them; she will resemble thy domestic example of probity and wisdom, and, except all human expectations fail, holy and good will she be by necessity."[1]

Vives points out with exultation the daughters of sir Thomas More as glorious examples of the effects of a learned and virtuous female education. His rules are rigid: he implores that the young princess may read no idle books of chivalry or romance. He defies and renounces such compositions in Spanish as " Amadis de Gaul," " Tirante the White," and others burnt by the curate in " Don Quixote." He abjures " Lancelot de Lac," " Paris et Vienne," " Pierre Provençal," and "Margalone and the Fairy Melusina." In Flemish, he denounces " Florice and Blanche," and " Pyramus and Thisbe." All these, and such as these, he classes as *libri pestiferi*,[2] corrupting to the morals of females. In their place he desires that the young princess Mary may read the Gospels night and morning, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, selected portions of the Old Testament, and the works of Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose; likewise Plato, Cicero, Seneca's Maxims, Plutarch's Enchiridion, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, and the " Utopia", of sir Thomas More. Among the works of classic poets he admitted the " Pharsalia" of Lucan, the tragedies of Seneca, with *selected* portions of Horace. He deemed cards, dice, and splendid dress, as pestiferous as romances. He gave rules for her pronunciation of Greek and Latin, and

[1] Dated April 5, 1523. Bruges. Sir F. Madden's Introductory Memoir of Mary, p. cxxi.

[2] Sir Frederick Madden's Privy Purse Expenses of Mary. Introductory Memoir, p. xxxi.

advised that lessons from these languages should be committed to memory every day, and read over two or three times before the pupil went to bed. He recommended that the princess should render English into Latin frequently, and likewise that she should converse with her preceptor in that language. Her Latin dictionary was to be either Perotti or Colepin. He permitted some stories for her recreation, but they were all to be purely historical, sacred, or classic. He instanced the narrative of Joseph and his brethren in the Scriptures, that of Papyrus in Aulus Gellius, and Lucretia in Livy. The well-known tale of "Griselda" is the only exception to his general exclusion of fiction, and that perhaps he took for fact. It is a curious coincidence that Griselda was afterwards considered in England as the prototype of queen Katharine.

The young princess was certainly educated according to the rigorous directions of Vives, and she is an historical example of the noxious effect that over-education has at a very tender age. Her precocious studies probably laid the foundation for her melancholy temperament and delicate health.

The emperor Charles continued extremely desirous that the princess should be sent to Spain for education; a wish Henry VIII. parried by declaring that she should, while in England, be brought up, and entirely trained, as a Spanish lady; and that she should be even accustomed to wear the national dress of the country whose queen she was expected to be. For this purpose he sent envoys to consult Margaret, Regent of Flanders, regarding materials and patterns proper for Spanish costume.

"As to the education of the princess Mary," said Henry VIII., "if the emperor should search all Christendom for a mistress to bring her up and frame her

after the manner of Spain, who could be found more meet than the queen's grace, her mother?—who comes of the royal house of Spain, and who for the affection she beareth to the emperor will nurture her, and bring her up to his satisfaction. But the noble person of the young princess is not meet as yet to bear the pains of the sea, nor strong enough to be transported into the air of another country."[1]

In the course of the summer of 1525, when this correspondence took place, rumours reached the court of England that the emperor meant to forsake the princess Mary, and was privately engaged to Isabel of Portugal. This was probably the first sorrow experienced by Mary, who was observed to grow pale with apprehension and jealousy when the change of the emperor's intentions was discussed. The little creature had been persuaded by her maids that she was in love with Charles V., for about this time she sent a pretty message to him through her father's ambassadors resident in Spain. Cardinal Wolsey thus communicated it in a letter addressed to them, dated April 7, 1525:—"I send you herewith an emerald, which my lady princess Mary sendeth to the emperor, with her most cordial and humble commendations to him. You, at the delivery of the same, shall say, 'that her grace hath devised this token for a better knowledge to be had (when God shall send them grace to be together) whether his majesty doth keep constant and continent to her, as with God's grace she will to him.' Whereby you may add, that her assured love towards his majesty hath already raised such passion in her that it is confirmed by jealousy, which is one of the greatest signs and tokens of love."[2] The emerald, whose

[1] Hall.

[2] Wolsey's correspondence with Tunstal and Wingfield, MS. Cotton. Vesp., C. iii., fol. 49 to fol. 162, from March to July, 1525.

colour was the symbol of constancy, sent by young Mary, would, it was imagined, fade and pale its brilliant green, if the heart of the betrothed swerved from the affianced lady. Thus, in that time of transition from the chivalric to the political era, did the fond ideality of the minstrel and the troubadour (with which the heads of the maids and pages of honour who waited around the little heiress were teeming) find its way into the dispatches of the statesman; ay, and would have had influence, too, had the betrothed princess been taller and older. As it was, the emperor stuck the emerald ring on his little finger as far as it would go, and bade the English ambassadors say "he would wear it for the sake of the princess," asking many questions regarding her health, learning, and appearance; to which the ambassadors answered by zealously descanting upon the "manifold seeds of virtues that were in her grace."

Even at this very time Charles V. was burning with indignation at private intelligence which had reached him that Henry VIII. meditated a divorce from queen Katharine, and the consequent disinheriting of her daughter. In the course of the same year, Charles broke his contract of betrothal with Mary, and wedded the beautiful Isabel of Portugal. It appears he justified his conduct by a letter full of reproaches to Henry VIII., for his sinister intentions in respect to Mary. Henry took great pains to shew him in what a different light he ostensibly regarded his only child; for Mary, if not actually declared princess of Wales, as some authors have affirmed, actually received honours and distinctions which have never, either before or since, been offered to any one but the heir apparent of England. A court was formed for her at Ludlow Castle, on a grander scale than those established either for her uncle Arthur or Edward

of York, both acknowledged princes of Wales, and heirs apparent of England.[1]

The officers and nobles who composed the princess Mary's court at Ludlow were employed likewise in superintending the newly-formed legislature of Wales, the natives of the principality being at last, by the tardy gratitude of the Tudors, admitted to participation in the privileges of English subjects. The Welsh had been long discontented with the absence of the royal family from any part of their territory, and this sojourn of the heiress of England was intended to conciliate their affections and sanction the new laws. Sir John Dudley (whose ambition afterwards made him so prominent a character as earl of Warwick, and duke of Northumberland, in the next reign,) was appointed chamberlain to the princess Mary at her new court. Thomas Audley, afterwards lord chancellor, and John Russell, were members of her council. The countess of Salisbury resided with her, as she had done from her birth, as head of her establishment and state governess, an office always filled till the time of James I. by a lady of the blood royal. The princess had besides no less than thirteen ladies of honour, and a crowd of lower functionaries, whose united salaries amounted to £741 13*s.* 9*d.*[2]

[1] Burnet, and many English authors, who, however, use mere general terms, without entering into documents. We translate the following passage from Pollino:—

"She was," says this author, "declared rightful heir of the realm by the king her father, and princess of Wales, which was the usual title of the king of England's eldest son. She likewise governed that province, according to the custom of the male heir." The Italian then carefully explains that the princes of Wales were in the same position, in regard to the English crown, as the dauphins were to that of France. Pollino must have had good documentary evidence, since he describes Mary's court and council (which he calls a senate) exactly as if the privy council books had been open to him. He says four bishops were attached to this court.

[2] To the deep research of Sir Frederic Madden is the public indebted for any particulars of Mary's sojourn in this ancient demesne of the English heirs-apparent. See, for many curious antiquarian particulars, Privy Purse Expenses of Mary, p. xxxix., by Sir F. Madden.

Mary took leave of her parents at the palace of Langley, in Hertfordshire, in September, 1525, previously to her departure for Ludlow Castle. Dr. Sampson gives a pleasing description of her person and qualities at this epoch. "My lady princess," he says, in a letter to Wolsey, "came hither on Saturday; surely, sir, of her age, as goodly a child as ever I have seen, and of as good gesture and countenance. Few persons of her age blend sweetness better with seriousness, or quickness with deference; she is at the same time joyous and decorous in manners." In fact, contemporaries and all portraiture represent Mary at this period of her life as a lovely child. But if human ingenuity had been taxed to the utmost in order to contrive the most cruel contrast between her present and future prospects, it could not have been more thoroughly effected than by first placing her in vice regal-pomp and state, as princess of Wales, at Ludlow Castle, and then afterwards blighting her young mind by hurling her undeservedly into poverty and contempt. It was exceedingly probable that Henry meant fraudulently to force a high alliance for Mary before he disinherited her, and therefore took the deceitful step of placing her in a station which had never been occupied, excepting by an heir apparent of England. It was in her court at Ludlow Castle that Mary first practised to play the part of queen, a lesson she was soon compelled to unlearn, with the bitterest insults. Her education at the same time went steadily on with great assiduity. Fresh instructions were given to her council regarding her tuition when she parted from her royal parents; they emanated from the maternal tenderness and good sense of queen Katharine, whose earnest wish was evidently to render her daughter healthy and cheerful, as well as learned and accomplished.

"First, above all other things, the countess of Salisbury, being lady-governess, shall, according to the singular confidence that the king's highness hath in her, give most tender regard to all that concerns the person of said princess, her honourable education and training in virtuous demeanour; that is to say, to serve God, from whom all grace and goodness proceedeth. Likewise, at seasons convenient, to use moderate exercise, taking open air in gardens, sweet and wholesome places, and walks, (which may conduce unto her health, solace, and comfort,) as by the said lady governess shall be thought most convenient. And likewise to pass her time most seasons at her virginals, or other musical instruments, so that the same be not *too much*, and without *fatigacion* or weariness, to attend to her learning of Latin-tongue and French. At other seasons to dance, and among the rest to have good respect to her diet, which is *meet* (proper) to be pure, well prepared, dressed, and served with comfortable, joyous, and merry communication, in all honourable and virtuous manner. Likewise, the cleanliness and well wearing of her garments and apparel, both of her chamber and person, so that everything about her be pure, sweet, clean, and wholesome, as to so great a princess doth appertain; all corruptions, evil airs, and things noisome and unpleasant, to be eschewed."[1] With these instructions, the princess Mary and her court departed for Ludlow, which Leland describes as a "fair manor place, standing in a goodly park, west of the town of Bewdley, on the very knob of the hill;" he adds, "the castle was built by Henry VII., for his son prince Arthur." It was probably repaired and decorated, but the castle was pre-

[1] MS. Cotton. Vitellius. C., fol. 24. In sir F. Madden's Privy Purse Expenses, Introductory Memoir, this document may be seen in the original orthography, p. xli.

viously the grand feudal seat of the Mortimers, as lords of the marches; Richard, duke of York, as heir of those semi-royal chiefs, resided there, and the young prince of Wales, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V., was educated and kept his court there, as heir apparent of England, for some years previous to the death of his father, Edward IV.

As a great concourse of people was expected at Ludlow Castle during the Christmas festivities, for the purpose of paying respect to the princess, her council thought it requisite that she should "keep Christmas with princely cheer;" they therefore wrote to the cardinal, intimating the articles requisite for use of their young mistress's household. A silver ship, or rather a boat, for an alms-dish, and silver spice plates, were among these requests; they wanted trumpets and a rebeck, and hinted a wish for the appointment of a lord of misrule, and some provision for interludes, disguisings, and plays at the feast, and for the banquet at Twelfth night.

The residence of Mary at Ludlow lasted about eighteen months, varied with occasional visits to Tickenhill, and to the magnificent unfinished palace of the unfortunate duke of Buckingham, at Thornbury, lately seized by the king; her education meantime proceeded rapidly. Lord Morley, one of the literary nobles of that day, thus alludes to Mary's attainments in a preface to his translation of the "New Year's Angelical Salutation," one of his works presented to her some years afterwards, when her changed fortune had wholly silenced the voice of flattery:—

"I do well remember," says Lord Morley, addressing the princess, "that scant had ye come to twelve years of age, but ye were so rife in the Latin tongue, that *rathe* (rarely) doth happen to the women-sex; that your grace

not only could perfectly read, write, and construe Latin, but furthermore translate any hard thing of the Latin into our English tongue; and among other your virtuous occupations, I have seen one prayer of your doing of St. Thomas Aquine,[1] that I do assure your grace is so well done, so near to the Latin, that when I look upon it (as I have one the examplar of it) I have not only marvel at the doing of it, but farther, for the *well*-doing of it. I have *set it* (copied it) in my books, as also in my poor wife's (probably her prayer-book) and my children, to give them occasion to remember to pray for your grace."

Mary's translation, thus described by her friend, is as follows:—

"The prayer of St. Thomas Aquinas, translated out of Latin into English by the most excellent *princess* Mary, daughter to the most high and mighty prince and princess king Henry 8th and *queen Katharine his wife*.[2] In the year of our Lord God 1527, and the eleventh of her age:—[3]

"O merciful God, grant me to covet with an ardent mind those things which may please thee, to search them wisely, to know them truly, and to fulfil them perfectly to the laud and glory of thy name. Order my living that I may do that which thou requirest of me, and give me grace that I may know it, and have wit and power to do it, and that I may obtain those things which be most convenient for my soul. Good Lord, make my way sure and straight to thee, that I fail not between prosperity and adversity, but that in prosperous things I may give thee thanks, and in adversity be patient, so that I be not lift up with the one nor oppressed with the other, and that I may rejoice in nothing but in that which moveth me to thee, nor be sorry for nothing but for those which draweth me from thee. Desiring to please nobody, nor fearing

[1] Sir F. Madden's Privy Purse Expenses of Mary, p. clxxiii.

[2] The words in italics have been crossed out of the manuscript at a time (doubtless) when it was treason to call Mary princess, or her mother, queen.

[3] Sir F. Madden's Privy Purse Expenses of Mary; this translation being edited by him from Mary's missal, now in the possession of George Wilkinson, of Tottenham Green. It has been formerly alluded to in the fourth volume of this work, as containing autographs of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, the princess Mary and her mother.

to displease any besides thee. Lord, let all worldly things be vile to me for thee, and that all thy things be dear to me, and thou, good Lord, most specially above them all. Let me be weary with that joy which is without thee, and let me desire nothing beside thee. Let the labour delight me which is for thee, and let all rest weary me which is not in thee. Make me to lift my heart ofttimes to thee, and when I fall, make me to think and be sorry with a steadfast purpose of amendment. My God, make me humble without feigning; merry without *lightness* (levity); *sad* (reflective) without mistrust; *sober* (steady) without dulness; fearing without despair; gentle without doubleness; trustful in thee without presumption; telling my neighbours (of their) faults without mocking; obedient without arguing; patient without grudging; and pure without corruption. My most loving Lord and God, give me a waking heart, that no curious thought withdraw me from thee. Let it be so strong that no unworthy affection draw me backward; so stable that no tribulation break it; and so free that no election, by violence, make any challenge to it. My Lord God, grant me wit to know thee; diligence to seek thee; wisdom to find thee; conversation to please thee; *continuance* (constancy) to look for thee; and, finally, hope to embrace thee; by thy penance here to be punished, and in our way to use thy benefits by thy grace; and in heaven, through thy glory, to have delight in thy joys and rewards. Amen."

There is a childlike simplicity in this translation; at the same time, the perspicuity apparent in the construction proves that Mary had the command of her own language as well as the knowledge of it—points which do not always meet with proper attention in a classical education.

In her missal, from which this early performance is drawn, the young princess has added: "I have read, that nobody liveth as he should do but he that followeth virtue, and I, reckoning you to be one of them, I pray you to remember me in your devotions.—MARYE, *child of K . . . . .*"

The princess has added, "child of king Henry and queen Katharine;" but as such a sentence, in succeeding years, rendered the person in whose hand it was written liable to the pains and penalties of high treason, all the words but those in italics were subsequently obliterated.

While the princess still resided at Ludlow Castle, Henry VIII. made a desperate attempt to marry her to Francis I., with the intention of revenging himself on the emperor Charles, and, perhaps, of removing his daughter out of his way before he dismissed her mother.

The king of France was under engagements to marry the emperor's sister, Eleanora of Austria, widow of Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal. Wolsey, who could not bear this close alliance between France and Spain, prevailed on his royal master to send Dr. Clerke to Louise, duchess of Savoy, the mother of Francis, for the purpose of proposing a marriage between him and Mary,[1] the then acknowledged heiress of England—an unsuitable marriage, for the princess was, in 1526, but eleven years of age. The marriage with Eleanora had been one of the conditions of Francis's liberation from his captivity, but it now seemed doubtful whether Charles would trust his enemy with an amiable sister, whom he loved so entirely. While the matter was uncertain, Dr. Clerke beset the duchess Louise with panegyric on the young Mary's beauty and docility. "Howbeit," (he says in his dispatch,) "I observed that madame Eleanora was now of the age of thirty, and peradventure there should not be found in her so much good-nature and humility as in my lady princess (Mary), whom now at her age, and after her education, she might bring up, fashion, forge, and make of her whatever she would, assuring her that my said lady princess would be as loving, lowly, and humble to her, as to her own father." The lady duchess then held up her hands, and with tears declared, "that I said truth;" adding—"that if it should be my lady princess's chance to be queen of France, she would be as loving again to her as to her own son Francis I." Louise made the more rational proposal of a union be-

[1] MS. Cotton. Caligula. D. ix., p. 256.

tween her second grandson, Henry, duke of Orleans, and the young English princess; but this did not answer Wolsey's purpose, which was to break a family league between Francis and the emperor. The bishop then sought Francis I. himself, to whom he descanted, in terms of great hyperbole, on the girlish beauties of Mary, calling her "the pearl of the world, and the jewel her father esteemed more than anything on earth." Francis affirmed that he had wished to espouse her before he left France. "Sir," responded the bishop, "whereat stick ye, then? for she is of that beauty and virtue——" Here Francis interrupted him, being, perhaps, impatient at hearing all this incongruous flattery regarding a small child; his words, though couched in a similar strain, have the semblance of satire—"I pray you," said the king, "repeat unto me none of these matters. I know well her education, her form and her fashion, her beauty and her virtue, and what father and mother she cometh of. I have as great a mind to marry her as ever I had to any woman;" and then he declared—"he had promised Eleanora, and was not free without she refused first." This strange negotiation ended with the king's mother informing the English ambassador "that news had arrived of queen Eleanora having laid aside her widow's weeds, and therefore it was evident she looked upon herself as the future queen of France." Francis I., though by no means anxious to espouse a bride of eleven years old, seemed really desirous of receiving Mary as his daughter-in-law, and at various periods of his life endeavoured to match her with his son Henry, duke of Orleans. It was in the course of one of these negotiations, which took place in the succeeding spring of 1527, that (as it was affirmed by Henry VIII. and Wolsey) doubts of the legitimacy of Mary were first started.[1]

[1] See Life of Katharine of Arragon, vol. iv.

The precise time of the withdrawal of the princess Mary from her court at Ludlow Castle is not defined; it was probably to receive the French ambassadors, who had arrived for the purpose of negotiating her marriage with the second son of France. Many notices exist of her participation in the giddy revelry of her father's court. Among others, occur the following curious verses, quoted here, not for any poetical merit they possess, but for their historical[1] allusions. They were evidently penned by some courtly adulator, who witnessed a ball, at which Mary danced with her royal father; and strange must have been the contrast presented between his colossal figure and her petite and fragile form:—

"Ravished I was, that well was me,
O Lord! to me so *fain* (willing),
To see that sight that I did see
I long full sore again.

"I saw a king and a princess
Dancing before my face,
Most like a god and a goddess,
(I pray Christ save their grace!)

"This king to see whom we have sung,
His virtues be right much,
But this princess, being so young,
There can be found none such.

"So *facund* fair she is to see,
Like to her is none of her age,
Withouten grace it cannot be
So young to be so sage.

"This king to see with his fair flower,
The mother[2] *standing by*,
It doth me good, yet at this hour,
On them when that think I.

[1] From MS. Ashmole, 176, edited by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. i., p. 258, from which valuable work this extract is made.

[2] Katharine of Arragon.

"I pray Christ, save father and mother,
And this young lady fair,
And send her shortly a brother
To be England's *right* heir."

The tenour of these lines plainly indicate that they were composed at a period when Katharine of Arragon was still the undoubted queen, presiding at the regal festival; yet that the lamentations of Henry for a son "to be England's right heir," on which he founded his grand plea for the divorce, were beginning to be re-echoed by his flatterers.

But the princess appeared soon after, not only as the partner of her royal sire in the stately pavon, (or minuet, of that era,) but as a dancer in court ballets, and a performer in comedies—no slight infringement of the rigid rules prescribed for her education by Ludovicus Vives. She seems, nevertheless, to have passed through the trials of this early introduction to display and dissipation, without incurring the least blame for levity of conduct; on the contrary, all parties joined in praising the simplicity and purity of her manners and pursuits. Among these commendations is one, according to the bias of the times, which will appear no particular excellency in modern estimation; for instance, she is praised for dressing on the Easter festival, according to the old usages of England, in the very best apparel she had, in order that she might shew her gladness at receiving the sacrament. This is a curious illustration of the national custom still existing among the lower classes, who scrupulously wear their best clothes on Easter day, and, if possible, purchase some new apparel.[1]

The practice of royal personages exhibiting themselves in the costume of stage-players had been hitherto unex-

[1] Not for the sake, sad to say, of approaching the table of our Lord. That custom can scarcely now be considered a national one, being nearly confined to the middle classes.

ampled, excepting by Henry VIII.,[1] and the most profligate of the Roman emperors. Nor was the coarse mind of Henry satisfied without the females of his family followed his example. His beautiful sister Mary, when she first appeared in one of these pantomimic ballets, wore a black crape mask as an Ethiopian princess; she soon became emboldened, and freely took her part as a dancer in the court balls and pageants. Still it was strange that the king should wish a girl, young as his daughter, thus to challenge the gaze of strangers. She appeared before the French ambassadors, at Greenwich Palace, in the spring of 1527, with five of her ladies disguised in Icelandic dresses, and with six lords, in the costume of the same country, "daunced lustily about the hall." At another banquet and mask, before the same ambassadors, in May, the princess Mary issued out of a cave, with her seven ladies, all apparelled after the Roman fashion, in rich cloth of gold and crimson tinsel *bendy;* that is, the dresses were striped in a slanting direction—a Roman fashion that may vainly be sought in classic remains. Their hair was wrapped in cawls of gold, with bonnets of crimson velvet on their heads, set full of pearls, and precious stones. Mary and her seven ladies then danced a ballet with eight lords. Some scenic effect was evidently attempted in this performance. The princess is said likewise to have acted a part in one of Terence's comedies, in the original Latin, for the enter-

[1] The sole exception to this assertion was the fact that Charles VI. of France and some of his courtiers went to a court ball in the disguise of *salvage* men. The surprise at the king's disguise occasioned a fatal accident, and it seems the whole scheme was an insane frolic, unauthorized by any precedent. King René, the father of Margaret of Anjou, wrote operas and songs, and planned ballets; he did not, however, act in them. Henry VIII. certainly established the precedent, afterwards so amply followed in England, France, and Italy, of royal and noble personages taking part in plays and pantomimic ballets. This continued till the verses of Racine, in Britannicus, on the stage-playing of Nero, were taken by Louis XIV. as a suitable reproof for this practice.

tainment of the French ambassadors, at Hampton Court. Mary was but in her twelfth year at this epoch, from which the commencement of her misfortunes may be dated; for a few weeks afterwards, her mother's divorce became matter of public discussion. Just at this time, May 21, 1527, was born at Valladolid, Philip, afterwards the second of Spain, son of the emperor Charles V. and Isabel of Portugal, who afterwards became the husband of the princess Mary.

Henry VIII., during the protracted discussion of the divorce, was at times extremely embarrassed by his affection for Mary and her claims on his paternity. Sometimes he bestowed profuse caresses on her in public; and at the first movement of the divorce, gave out that the inquiry was only made to settle her claims permanently to the succession. The princess, meantime, remained near her parents, in possession of the same state and distinction she had enjoyed since her birth. Henry thus mentions his daughter in one of his speeches, regarding the divorce from her mother. "Although," says he, "we have had the lady Mary, singular both in beauty and shape, by the most noble lady Katharine, yet that marriage cannot be legitimate which gives us such pain and torment of conscience." The jealous disposition of Henry was probably soon inflamed into rancour when he found, in the course of the dispute, that his daughter took part with her mother, and was, moreover, the idol of his people, who declared, on all occasions, "that king Henry might marry whom he would, yet they would acknowledge no successor to the crown but the husband of the lady Mary."[1] Wolsey was hated furiously throughout England, because he was supposed to be the originator of the divorce; and one of the popular rhymes

[1] Hall.

of the day thus sets forth public indignation at the wrongs of the people's darling:—

"Yea, a princess whom to describe
It were hard for an orator,
She is but a child in age,
And yet she is both wise and sage—
And beautiful in favour.

"Perfectly doth she represent
The singular graces excellent
Both of her father and mother.
Howbeit, this disregarding,
The *carter* of York[1] is meddling
For to divorce them asunder."

It has been asserted by all contemporaries, that queen Katharine at one time of her life cherished an ardent desire that her daughter Mary should be united in marriage with Reginald Pole, son of the countess of Salisbury, the noble kinswoman who had constantly resided with the young princess. All the biographers of Reginald Pole declare that Mary manifested the greatest partiality to him from her earliest childhood. This might have been; yet the difference of their ages, Reginald being born in 1500, was too great for any partiality to have subsisted between them in early life as lovers. While there was hope of her daughter becoming the wife of the emperor, it was not probable that queen Katharine, who loved her nephew exceedingly, could have wished her to marry Reginald Pole. But when Reginald returned to England at the same time that the imperial match was broken off, and appeared in her court in his twenty-fifth year, possessing the highest cultivation of mind, the grandest person and features, of that perfect mould of beauty which revived the memory of

[1] Wolsey was archbishop of York. The lines are by a protestant, John Roy.

the heroic Plantagenets, his ancestors,[1] it is possible that the wise queen, weighing the disadvantages of wedlock with a foreign monarch, might wish her Mary united to such a protector. The match would have been highly popular among the English, as the national love for the memory of the Plantagenet kings was only equalled by the intense national jealousy of foreign alliances, besides which, the personal qualities of Reginald rendered him the pride of his country. He had, however, a mistrust of the atmosphere of the English court, as portentous of storm and change; he reminded his royal relatives that he had been educated for the church, and withdrew himself into the seclusion of the Carthusian convent of Sion. Here Reginald abstracted himself from the world by sedulous attention to books, but it was observed that he neither took priest's orders nor monastic vows.

While the perplexities of the divorce engrossed public attention, few notices occur of the princess Mary, excepting that the queen was occasionally threatened with separation from her child, a proof that their intercourse continued. Both the queen and princess were with the king at Tittenhanger[2] during the prevalence of the plague called the Sweating Sickness, in 1528. At the ensuing Christmas, the king gave his daughter "£20 to disport her with." At Ampthill, one of her servants "received for her use £10 to make pastime withal."

She seems to have spent the year 1530 entirely with her mother, for Hall occasionally mentions her at Greenwich, particularly at the close of the year, when he says,

[1] The portrait of Cardinal Pole singularly resembles the most beautiful portraits of Edward III., his ancestor, and the best pictures of Edward IV., his great uncle. Michael Angelo has drawn his portrait in the grand painting of The Raising of Lazarus, as the Saviour. This work, which is the joint performance of Angelo and Sebastian del Piombo, is in the National Gallery.

[2] A country house of the abbot of St. Albans, already wrested from him by the king.

speaking of Henry's disappointment at finding himself still remaining the husband of Katharine of Arragon—"The king sore lamented his chance; he made no mirth or pastime, as he was wont to do, yet he dined with and resorted to the queen as accustomed; he *minished* nothing of her estate, and much loved and cherished their daughter, the lady Mary."[1] These words afford proof that the establishment and royal routine of the mother and daughter continued the same as formerly. Lady Salisbury likewise retained her office, and Reginald Pole, her son, who had, with a single exception of an honourable mission to Paris, been resident in England for five years, must have had frequent opportunities of seeing the princess on account of his mother's residence with her, and her near relationship to the royal family. Mary was now a very lovely girl, in her fifteenth year; she manifested the greatest partiality to her noble and accomplished kinsman—whether as friend or lover, it is scarcely possible to say. But history having linked together the names of Mary Tudor and Reginald Pole, by hints that matrimonial alliance was at a later time projected between them, their locality at this momentous period of their career becomes an interesting point of biography.

Henry VIII. was very anxious to gain the sanction of the noble-minded Reginald to his pending divorce. When greatly urged to give his opinion on that head, and to accept of the archbishopric of York, rendered vacant by the death of Wolsey, Reginald, by letter,[2] firmly and respectfully declined this great advancement,

[1] Hall, 780.

[2] This letter was the first of the celebrated series of controversial letters and essays written by Reginald Pole, and often quoted by historians. It was, of course, different in tone to those written after his aged mother had been hacked to pieces on the scaffold, his brother put to death on slight pretext, and his whole house desolated.

adding many arguments against the divorce of Katharine and the degradation of her daughter. Henry was incensed; he called the disinterested advocate before him in the stately gallery of Whitehall Palace,[1] to account for this opposition. Reginald, who at that time loved the king ardently, could not speak for emotion, and his words, so celebrated for their impassioned eloquence, were stifled in a gush of tears; yet his broken sentences proved that he was firm in his principles and manly in his defence of the helpless queen and her daughter. Henry frowned, and his hand often sought the hilt of his dagger; but if his kinsman did not yield to affection or interest, there was little chance of a scion of the Plantagenets bending to fear. Henry left Reginald weeping, and vented his temper by threats to his brother, lord Montague—threats which long after were fatally verified. Reginald's brothers loaded him with reproaches, yet he appears to have convinced them that he was right; for Montague, his elder brother, undertook a message of explanation to the king, who had rather taken the contents of the letter which had displeased him from the report of the duke of Norfolk than from his own perusal. Meantime, Henry had conquered his passion, for he was as yet a novice in injustice and cruelty. He examined the letter, and after walking up and down thoughtfully for some time, turned to his kinsman, lord Montague, and said, "Your brother has rightly guessed my disposition; he has given me such good reasons for his conduct, that I am under the necessity of taking all he has said in good part; and could he but gain on himself to approve of my divorce from the queen, no one would be dearer to me."[2]

[1] Whitehall Palace was thus called, after the death of Wolsey. It formerly bore the name of York Place, and was from this time the favourite residence of the royal family.

[2] This scene is related by both Pole's secretaries, and by himself in his

At this period, no separation had taken place of the English church from Rome; and the divorce cause remained wholly undecided, therefore no religious prejudices were at issue in the bosom of Reginald Pole; it was as yet a simple matter of right or wrong between a husband, wife, and child, and when his opinion was demanded, and not till then, Reginald, the near kinsman of the husband and child, honestly declared what he thought of the justice of the case. If his defence of the oppressed made a powerful impression on the oppressor, what must it have done on the minds of those whose cause he pleaded?

The queen, from the commencement of her troubles, had often recurred to the unjust sentence on Reginald Pole's uncle, the last of the Plantagenets. She said, "that she saw the judgment of God in her afflictions, for a marriage founded in murder was not likely to prosper." She knew that her father, king Ferdinand, had refused the English alliance till Warwick was executed.[1] The conscientious queen had endeavoured to make reparation by the friendship she ever shewed to Warwick's sister, the countess of Salisbury, and the affection she cultivated between her daughter Mary and the children of the countess. At one period of her life (and this may naturally be deemed the time) Katharine was heard to express a wish that Mary might marry a son of lady Salisbury, in order to atone for the wrong done to the earl of Warwick, whose property was taken as well as his life.[2] Reginald Pole used no surreptitious means to realize a wish so flattering to ambition. When

letters. Sanders has likewise detailed it. Burnet rejected it as a romantic fiction of his own inventing; but as it is related by Pole himself it enforces belief. When a man sacrifices all worldly advantage rather than flatter injustice, his word becomes sacred to posterity.

[1] Hall. Life of Cardinal Pole.

[2] This is evident from the State Papers and Lodge's Illustrations, which prove that Warwick Castle was crown property in the reign of Edward VI.

the young princess was sixteen, he withdrew from England, finding that his principles could not accord with the measures of the king. Yet it was long supposed that his reluctance to take priest's orders arose from a lingering hope that the wishes of queen Katharine might one day be fulfilled.

An utter silence is maintained, alike in public history and state documents, regarding that agonizing moment when the princess Mary was reft from the arms of her unfortunate mother to behold her no more. No witness has told the parting, no pen has described it; but sad and dolorous it certainly was to the hapless girl, even to the destruction of health.[1] In the same month that Henry VIII. and queen Katharine finally parted, Mary had been ill, for a payment is made by her father to Dr. Bartelot, of £20, in reward for giving her his attendance. Another long sickness afflicted the princess the succeeding March, when the king again gave a large sum to the physician for restoring his daughter. Mary's sorrow had thus cast an early blight on her constitution, which she never wholly recovered. But her troubles had not yet reached their climax; for lady Salisbury, the friend, next her mother, dear to her heart, still resided with her. This fact is evident from the letter[2] written by queen Katharine, in which the recent illness of Mary is mentioned, and at the conclusion a kind message is sent to lady Salisbury. In this letter, Katharine endeavoured, with great sweetness, to reconcile the princess Mary to the loss of the Latin lessons she used to give her, by commendations of the superior ability of her tutor, Dr. Fetherston, (who, it is evident, still retained his post.) At the same time, she requested occasionally to inspect

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., pp. 146, 202.

[2] See Life of Katharine of Arragon, vol. iv., where the whole letter is cited.

her daughter's Latin exercises. The queen's letter concluded with expressions of tender regret at her separation from the king and her daughter, but without a word of angry complaint at the cause, which she wisely knew would irritate and agonize the mind of her child. Woburn is the date which marks the time as during the queen's residence at the palace of Ampthill, close to that abbey.

The succeeding year brought many trials to the unfortunate mother and daughter, who were still cruelly kept from the society of each other. The king proclaimed his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Cranmer pronounced the marriage of queen Katharine invalid; and the coronation of the rival queen took place. Another letter, written by Katharine of Arragon to her daughter, occurs without date of time or place, which we conjecture to have been written at Bugden, 1533, about the middle of August:—

"Daughter, I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is very near when Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it; for I trust that he doth handle you with a good love. I beseech you agree to his pleasure with a *merry* (cheerful) heart, and be you sure that without fail *he* will not suffer you to perish if you beware to offend him.

"I pray God that you, good daughter, offer yourself to him. If any pangs come over you, shrive yourself, first make you clean; take heed of his commandments, and keep them as near, as he will give you grace to do, for there are you sure armed.

"And if *this lady* do come to you as it is spoken, if *she* do bring you a letter from the king, I am sure in the self same letter you will be commanded what to do. Answer with very few words, obeying the king your father in everything—save only that you will not offend God, and lose your soul—and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter. And wheresoever, and in whatsoever company you shall come, obey the king's commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing.

"I will send you two books in Latin; one shall be, De Vita Christi, with the declarations of the gospels; and the other, the Epistles of St. Jerome, that he did write to Paula and Eustochium, and in them I trust you will see good things.

"Sometimes for your recreation use your virginals or lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love you owe to God and unto me, to keep your heart with a chaste mind, and your person from all ill and wanton company, not thinking or desiring of any husband, for Christ's passion; neither determine yourself to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past. For I do make you sure you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire.

"I would God, good daughter, that you did know with how good a heart I write this letter unto you. I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well that God loveth you. I beseech him, of his goodness, to continue it.

"I think it best *you keep your keys yourself,* for whosever it is (*that is, whosoever keeps her keys*) shall be done as shall please them.

"And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow. I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the utmost they can, then I am sure of amendment.

"I pray you recommend me unto my good lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good heart, for we never come to the kingdom of heaven but by troubles. Daughter, *wheresover you come* take no pain to send to me, for if I may, I will send to you.

"By your loving mother,

"KATHARINE THE QUENE."

Hitherto, this letter has been deemed a mystery. It is evidently written with conflicting feelings, under the pressure of present calamity, but with the excitement of recently-awakened hope of better days. The queen has privately heard of some great, but undeclared, benefit to her daughter, which she hints at to cheer her. Meantime she expects that a lady is to summon Mary by a letter from the king, and that she is shortly to be introduced into trying scenes, where the divorce will be discussed, and her opinion demanded. On these points, she disinterestedly and generously exhorts her not to controvert her father's will. The queen expects her daughter to be surrounded by dissipated company, where temptations will sedulously be brought to assail her, against which she guards her. She likewise anticipates that enemies will be near her, and warns her to keep the keys herself, no doubt dreading the introduction of dangerous papers into her escrutoire. Lady Salisbury is

still Mary's protectress; but that venerable lady is in trouble, and looking darkly forward to the future. The kind queen sends her a message of Christian consolation, the efficacy of which she had fully tried.

All that has been considered mysterious in the letter of queen Katharine vanishes before the fact preserved in the pages of the Italian Pollino, who declares that Mary was present at Greenwich Palace, and in the chamber of Anne Boleyn,[1] when Elizabeth was born. Setting aside the religious prejudices of the historian, the simple fact that Mary was there is highly probable.

Till some days subsequent to the birth of Elizabeth, Henry did not disinherit his eldest daughter, lest if anything fatal had happened to queen Anne and her infant, he might have been left without legitimate offspring of any kind. It is very likely that the laws of England required then, as now, the presumptive heir of the kingdom to be present at the expected birth of an heir apparent to the crown. If Katharine of Arragon's letter be read with this light cast on it, how plain does it appear. The good mother endeavoured to fortify her daughter's mind for the difficult situation in which she would find herself in the chamber of Anne Boleyn at the birth of the rival heir. Then the beneficial change in Mary's prospects hinted at by her mother has reference to the recent decree of the pope, (soon after public,) who, in July, 1533, had annulled the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn, and forbade them to live together under pain of excommunication—a sentence which likewise illegitimated their offspring, and confirmed Mary in her royal station. This sentence was published in Sep-

[1] Pollino, Istoria della Ecclesia, p. 7, printed 1594. Burnet likewise says, that Sanders mentions that Mary was present on this occasion. Vol. ii., p. 220, of Records: in the same volume may be seen, in the original orthography, the letter of queen Katharine quoted above.

tember, as near as possible to the birth of Elizabeth; and secret intelligence of this measure had evidently been given to Katharine of Arragon, when she wrote to Mary. She knew that the decision of Rome had previously settled all such controversies; and it was natural enough that she should expect the same result would take place.

It is very clearly to be gathered from the continued narrative of our Italian authority, that Mary did not adhere to the temperate line of conduct her wise mother had prescribed for her. "She was present," says Pollino, "assisting, with the relatives and friends of Anne Boleyn, in the lying-in chamber, when *Lisabetta* (Elizabeth) was born; and there she heard, among the ladies and persons of the court, such secret things relative to the conduct of the mother, as made her declare that she was sure the infant was not her sister." Thus had Mary, with the natural incautiousness of youth, given ear to all the scandals which queen Anne's enemies were whispering on this occasion; and Mary's informants, who were probably her deadliest foes, had repeated to Anne Boleyn and the king any imprudence she, in the excitement of the moment, might utter, or even what she did not utter, but was attributed to her by the gossips with whom she was surrounded. Too often there is an evil propensity in the human heart which finds amusement in the fomentation of dissension where family interests clash. The close observer may see this tendency in active operation among gossiping circles, even where the promoters of strife have not the least selfish end to gain by success in their endeavours. If they would subject themselves to that rigid self-examination which moral justice requires, they would find their satisfaction arose from a certain degree of malignant marvellousness which is gratified in watching the agitation of their victims. In short, they witness a species of *improvisatore* tragedy,

of which they furnish the plot and machinery. If, according to the wise scripture proverb, "a little matter kindleth a great heap," when the tale-bearers of private life are pursuing their self-appointed vocation, let us consider what the case was in the royal family of England in September, 1533, when the matter was so portentous and the heap so enormous. The situation of Mary, when called to court at such a crisis, must have been trying in the extreme; nor could the most sedulous caution have guided her, through the difficulties which beset her path, without incurring blame from one party or the other. There is, however, whatever the court gossips might say, the witness of her own letter that she never denied the name of sister to the new-born infant; for when she was required to give up the title of princess, and call Elizabeth by no other appellation, "Sister," she said, "she would call the babe, but nothing more."[1]

Her father threatened her—his threats were useless; and he proceeded to aggravate the case by declaring Mary's new-born rival his heiress (in default of male issue), a dignity till then enjoyed by Mary, who had lately, as such, exercised authority in the principality of Wales.

But neither threats nor deprivations had the least effect in bending the resolution of Mary. That her resistance did not spring from an exclusive devotion to her own interest, her subsequent concessions proved; but her love for her injured mother was an absorbing feeling, paramount to every other consideration, and while Katharine of Arragon lived, Mary of England would have suffered martyrdom rather than make a concession against the interest and dignity of that adored parent.

Before the end of September, the privy council sent

[1] This fact is related by Mary herself, in a letter of hers, which will be subsequently quoted.

orders to Mary, who had then returned to Beaulieu, that she was immediately to lay aside the name and dignity of princess, and moreover enjoined her to forbid her servants to address her as such, and to withdraw directly to Hatfield, where the nursery of her infant sister was about to be established. The king did not take any ostensible part in this message—conduct, however singular it may appear, which was perfectly consistent with the excessive love of approbation apparent in his character, even when he was performing acts of the utmost enormity. The important message, whose effect was to deprive the eldest child of the English crown of her exalted situation, was delivered by her chamberlain, Hussey;[1] it purported to be "the king's high commandment delivered to him by the privy council on the last Sunday, at Greenwich."

When it is remembered that the princess was but seventeen at this crisis, the tact and courage of her reply will excite some surprise. She told Hussey, "that she not a little marvelled at his undertaking in his single person, unauthorized by commission of council, signed by the king, or by his majesty's private letters to her, such matter of high emprise, as *minishing* from her state and dignity, she not doubting withal that she was the king's true daughter, born in good and lawful matrimony; and unless she were advertised by letter from the king's own hand that his grace were so minded to diminish her state, name, and dignity (which she trusted he never would do), she should never believe the same."

Hussey withdrew, to indite a narrative of the scene to his employers of the privy council.[2] It is well worthy of

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. i., pp. 224, 225.

[2] Ibid., p. 231. Strype calls this person one Huse, describing him as "a *promoter* formerly employed by the king in his matter with the queen" —a sentence which looks as if it had been miscomprehended by the printer. He was certainly the princess's chamberlain at Beaulieu. He has been

remark, that in this despatch he invariably applied the titles of "grace" and "princess" to Mary, though addressing the very persons who had just employed him to deprive her of those distinctions.

In Mary's letter to the privy council, she sustained the high tone of a royal lady, whose rights of succession were invaded by an adverse fortune.

"My lords,[1] as touching my removal to Hatfield, I will obey his grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his grace may appoint me; but I protest before you, and all others present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take *any other*[2] than myself for princess, or for the king's daughter born in lawful matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly say, or do, aught, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Nor say I this out of any ambition, or proud mind, as God is my judge. If I should do otherwise, I should slander the deed of our mother, the holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other, and should also dishonour the king my father, the queen my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard, which God defend I should do, since the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive, to whose final judgment I submit myself."

Hussey's despatch to the council produced a letter, purporting to be the royal order, written by the comptroller of the king's household, requiring Mary to leave Beaulieu, and take up her abode at Hertford Castle; from a subsequent order in council, it appears that the king and his ministers were dubious whether the princely establishment formed for the infant Elizabeth was to be fixed at Hatfield, or Hertford Castle; wherever it were to be, it is evident that no home was to be allowed the fallen Mary, but the spot where she was to draw daily

called, by some historians, "one Edward Huse, a relative of Anne Boleyn," and represented as a cruel and insolent agent. He, however, signs his name in the document, John Huse. He was undoubtedly a peer of the realm, and warmly but secretly devoted to the cause of Mary, as will be presently shewn.

[1] Heylin, who is uncertain as to date, excepting that these letters were written before 1536; they belong to the crisis under discussion.

[2] This is an evident allusion to Elizabeth, and therefore proves it was written after she was invested with Mary's birthright.

comparisons between her lost dignities and those profusely lavished on the daughter of the rival queen. In this exigence Mary thus wrote to her father:—

THE LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"In most humble wise, I beseech your grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth the same to be advertised that this morning my chamberlain came and shewed me that he had received a letter from sir William Paulet, comptroller of your household; the effect whereof was, that I should, with all diligence, remove to the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired to see that letter, which he shewed me, wherein was written that 'the lady Mary, the king's daughter, should remove to the place aforesaid' —leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which, when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your grace was not privy to the same letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess —forasmuch as I doubt not that your grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I were to say to the contrary, I should in my conscience run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly that your grace would not that I should do.

"And in all other things your grace shall have me always as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour and long life to his pleasure. From your manor of Beaulieu, October 2nd.

"By your most humble daughter,

"MARY, *Princess.*"

The king took decided measures to dissolve the household of his daughter at Beaulieu, by sending the duke of Norfolk, assisted by lord Marney, the earl of Oxford, and his almoner, bishop Fox, to deal with her, while the duke of Suffolk and others of the council were breaking up her mother's establishment at Bugden. In the midst of these troubles, Mary's cousin-german, James V., solicited her hand, but his suit was refused peremptorily, lest such marriage should interfere with the title of Anne Boleyn's issue.

The degradation of the princess Mary was rendered legal in the beginning of 1534, when the houses of parliament passed an act, settling the crown on the king's heirs by queen Anne, whether male or female. Mary's

household at Beaulieu,[1] a princely establishment, consisting of no less than one hundred and sixty individuals, was finally dismissed and dispersed; and the unfortunate princess was severed from all those to whose society she had been accustomed during her childhood; above all, she was torn from her venerable relative, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, in whose arms she had been encircled in the first days of her existence. This was a blow more bitter than the mere deprivation of rank or titles. Harder than all, when separated from this maternal friend, she was transferred to the nursery-palace of Hunsdon, to which the infant Elizabeth was removed from Hatfield, and established with a magnificent household, befitting the rank of which Mary had just been deprived. In this residence Mary was located more like a bondmaiden than a sister of the acknowledged heiress of the realm. Hunsdon had formerly belonged to the family of the Boleyns, and had been recently purchased or exchanged by the king; to this place, the former seat of her family, did Anne Boleyn send her infant with royal pomp; nor was she satisfied, unless the fallen princess drew hourly comparisons between her lot and that of the sister who had supplanted her. A fearful thing it was thus to tempt the heart of a fellow-creature; by aggravating grief into passionate anger, through the infliction of gratuitous injury.. But the heart of Mary was as yet unscathed by the corrosion of hatred—every object of her strong affections was not then destroyed, though they were removed; and ample proof remains that, instead of being aggravated into detesting or injuring her rival sister, she amused her sorrows with

[1] From the date of an order of council, quoted by Strype (Dec. 2, 1533), in which it mentions the dissolution of Mary's household at Beaulieu, as a measure *still to be carried into effect*, it is evident Mary had succeeded in delaying her removal till after the new year had commenced.

the playful wiles of the infant, and regarded her with kindness. This result probably originated in the fact, that queen Anne Boleyn, choosing that (as far as she could command) the former attendants of Mary should wait on Elizabeth, had chosen lady Margaret Bryan as her governess; whatever others might do, it is certain that excellent lady did all in her power to soothe the wounded mind of her former charge, and promote her kindly feelings to her infant sister.

The insults heaped by Anne Boleyn, at this crisis, on the unfortunate Mary, weighed heavily on her conscience, when she was making up her accounts with eternity. What they were, rests between God and herself, for no specific detail of them exists. Perhaps the severe inquiry, made the summer after Mary's removal from Beaulieu, relative to her correspondence and communication with her friends, was among these repented malefactions.

In a mutilated letter[1] from Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the king's household, to Cromwell, is an account of a search made in the coffers of Mary, at Hunsdon, which were sealed up; various papers were seized, put into a bag, and sent to Cromwell, together with a purse of purple velvet, containing some writing—perhaps the very letter from her mother quoted above. Several persons were at the same time committed to the Tower, on the charge of holding private intercourse with the lady Mary, and styling her *princess*, after the prohibition'

[1] This important passage, edited by the research and valuable acumen of sir Frederic Madden, from half-burnt documents, is taken from his work, Privy Purse Expenses, &c., pp. lxii. lxiii. Lord Hussey was put to death on suspicion of participation in one of the frequent risings of the people in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. His manor of Sleaford was granted or sold by archbishop Cranmer to Richard Goodrick, of London. The whole property of lord Hussey was torn from his heirs, and never restored. Anne, lady Hussey, was daughter to the earl of Kent. See Peerage of England, 1711, vol. iii., p. 325.

issued against it; among these was lady Hussey, and her examination, taken August 3rd, is still preserved. Various ensnaring interrogations were put to lady Hussey, as—"How often she had repaired to the lady Mary since she had lost the name of princess? Whether she was sent for, and on what occasion she went? Whether she knew that the lady Mary was justly declared by law to be no princess, and yet had so called her? What moved her so to do? Whether she had received any tokens or messages from the lady Mary; and what persons at that time visited her at Hunsdon?" The replies are short and unequivocal—the language of one who felt she had done nothing wrong, yet sensible of the danger incurred. She stated "she had visited the lady Mary only once since the king had discharged her from Beaulieu, and that was when lord Hussey came up to parliament at the last Whitsuntide, and the visit then was altogether accidental." She owned "she had inadvertently called the lady Mary twice by the name of princess, not from any wish to disobey the law, but mply from her having been so long accustomed to it.' She confessed having received a trifling present from the lady Mary. Among the persons who visited the disinherited princess at Hunsdon, she deposed, was lord Morley. He was the literary friend whose testimony to Mary's early attainments has been already quoted, and who, to the honour of literature, did not forsake the unfortunate, notwithstanding his daughter's intermarriage in the Boleyn family. Lady Morley, Mr. Shakerley and his wife, and Sir Edward Baynton, were likewise among Mary's visitors.

"The poor princess," says Heylin, "had at Hunsdon no comfort but in her books; she was assisted in her studies by Dr. Voisie, whom Henry VIII. rewarded, for the pains he took, with the bishopric of Exeter.

This passage leads to the supposition that Dr. Fetherstone (who had been employed in Mary's education since her infancy), had been dismissed with the rest of the attached friends who composed her household at her regretted home of Beaulieu.

The two melancholy years Mary spent at Hunsdon, under the surveillance of her stepmother, were passed in sorrow and suffering.

The few friends who dared visit her were subjected to the severest espionage, their words were malignantly scrutinized, and sedulously reported to the privy council. The papers of the princess were put under the royal seal, and if she was allowed to read, she certainly was not permitted to write, since in one of her letters, penned just after the execution of Anne Boleyn, she apologizes for "her evil writing, because she had not written a letter for two years." Her father muttered murderous threats against her, and his words were eagerly caught and re-echoed by those members of his council, whose whole study it was to flatter his wilful wishes, however wicked they might be. If the expressions of king Henry had not been appalling to the last degree, would the treasurer, Fitzwilliam, have dared to use the revolting terms he did, regarding his master's once idolized daughter? "If she will not be obedient to his grace, I would," quoth he, "that her head was from her shoulders, that I might toss it here with my foot," and so put his foot forward, spurning the rushes,[1]—a graphic exemplification added by two witnesses of his horrible speech, which it seems was not resented, but received as a dutiful compliment by the father of the young female whose bleeding head was thus kicked as a football in the lively imagination of the obedient satellite!

[1] State Papers. MS. Cotton., Otho, c. x., much burnt, but successfully edited by sir Frederick Madden.

Dark indeed were the anticipations throughout Europe regarding the future destiny, not only of the unfortunate daughter, but of the queen, her mother, during the year 1535. The king's envoys wrote home that all men viewed them as Englishmen, with either pity or horror. Mason, who was resident in Spain, declared that the people expected to hear every day of the execution of queen Katharine, and that the princess Mary was expected soon to follow her.[1] These rumours are vaguely stated in general history; only one author, and he a foreigner, attempts to relate the particular circumstances which instigated Henry VIII. to meditate the astounding crime of filiacide. Gregorio Leti affirms, that some fortune-teller had predicted the accession of the princess Mary to the crown after the death of her father. This report being circulated at court, was quickly brought to queen Anne Boleyn, and threw her into great agitation. She flew to the king, and with tears and sobs told him "how much afflicted she was at the thought that their child should be excluded from the throne for the sake of Mary, who was the offspring of a marriage so solemnly pronounced illegal." Henry, who was completely bewitch-d by her, embraced her with all the tenderness possible, and, to assuage her tears, "promised not only to disinherit Mary, but even to kill her, rather than such a result should happen." Fox, and every succeeding historian declare that Cranmer prevented the king from immolating his daughter—if so, this must have been the crisis.

To the princess, the matter of her life or death was, perhaps, of little moment, for grief had laid her on a bed of dolorous sickness. Her mother was on her deathbed, desiring with a yearning heart, but with words of

[1] Ellis's Letters, second series. Likewise Edmund Harvel, resident at Venice.

saintly meekness, to be permitted, if not to see her, merely to breathe the same air with her afflicted daughter; she promises solemnly that if Mary may be resident near her, she will not attempt to see her, if forbidden. She adds, that such measure was "impossible, since she lacked provision *therefor*," meaning, she had neither horse nor carriage to go out. Yet she begs the king may be always told that the thing she most desires is the company of her daughter, "for a little comfort and mirth she would take with me, should undoubtedly be a half health unto her."[1] Doleful would have been the mirth, and heart-rending the comfort, had such interview been permitted between the sick daughter and the dying mother, but it was no item in the list of Henry's tender mercies.

The emperor Charles V. remonstrated sternly on the treatment of his aunt and young kinswoman, and the whole ingenuity of the privy council was exerted to hammer out a justification of the ugly case. A copy of the despatch sent to Mason, much altered and interlined, remains in Cromwell's hand.[2] "Touching the bruit of the *misentreaty* of the queen and princess, such report and bruit is untrue;" then after setting forth king Henry's munificence to the mother, he by no means boasts of his generosity to the princess, but adds, "Our daughter, the lady Mary, we do order and entertain as we think expedient, for we think it not meet that any person should prescribe unto us how we should order our *own* daughter, we being her natural father." In another despatch, the rumour at the imperial court is indignantly denied—"that it was the king's intention to marry Mary to some person of base blood."

The death of Mary's tender and devoted mother

[1] Hearne's Sylloge, p. 107. [2] MS., Cott. Nero, b. vi., f. 85.

opened the year 1536 with a dismal aggravation of her bitter lot. The sad satisfaction of a last adieu between the dying queen and her only child, was cruelly forbidden. Mary was informed of the tidings of her mother's expected dissolution, and with agonizing tears and plaints implored permission to receive her last blessing, yet in vain, for Katharine of Arragon expired without seeing her daughter. Again, the Continent rung with reprobation of such proceedings. The English resident at Venice wrote to Thomas Starkey, a learned divine at Henry's court, February 5th, 1536,—"That queen Katharine's death had been divulged there, and was received with lamentations, for she was incredibly dear to all men, for her good fame, which is in great glory among all *exterior* nations." He concludes in Latin—"Great obloquy has her death occasioned, all dread lest the royal girl should briefly follow her mother; I assure you men speaketh here *tragice* of these matters which are not to be touched by letters." Happy would it have been for Mary, happy for her country, if her troublous pilgrimage had closed, even thus tragically, before she had been made the ostensible instrument of wrong and cruelty unutterable to the conscientious Protestants!

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER II.

Change in Mary's fortunes—Fall of queen Anne Boleyn—Her penitent message to Mary—Friendship between Mary and queen Jane—Mary's correspondence with Cromwell—Her supplicatory letters to her father—Visit of the Spanish ambassador—Her deep mourning for her mother—Letter to Edward Seymour—Mary's acknowledgment of her illegitimacy—Forbidden to call her sister princess—Letter to Cromwell on that head—Letter to her father—Kind mention of her sister therein—Her household fixed at Hunsdon—Her method of spending her time—Her learning and accomplishments—Her musical skill—Privy purse expenses—Her visit to the king and queen—High play at court—Various presents given to and received by her—Buys millinery at lady Gresham's shop—Mention of her sister Elizabeth—Mary's alms and gifts—Her illness—She is an importer of plants, &c.—Arrives at Hampton Court—Is sponsor to her infant brother, Edward—Her dress—Leads her sister Elizabeth—Mary chief mourner at queen Jane's funeral—Treaty of marriage—Presents to her brother and sister—Mary's troubles in 1538—Wooed by Philip of Bavaria—Their interview in Westminster Abbey garden—Conversation with him in Latin—Love token—Their engagement broken at Anne of Cleve's divorce—Mary's sojourn at Sion—Removed at the fall of queen Katharine Howard—Domesticated with prince Edward and her sister—Her diplomatic letter—Her visit to her father, &c.—Course of life, &c.—Present at the marriage of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr—Improved prospects.

At the very time when all Europe anticipated the destruction of the princess Mary, a change took place in the current of events that influenced her fortunes. Her step-mother, queen Anne Boleyn, lost the male heir,

who was expected wholly to deprive Mary of all claims to primogeniture, even in the eyes of her most affectionate partisans. Scarcely had queen Anne uttered the well-known exclamation of triumph on the death of Katharine of Arragon, before indications were perceptible that she had herself lost Henry's capricious favour; her fall and condemnation followed with rapidity.[1] The day before her tragical death, Anne Boleyn, after placing lady Kingston in the royal seat as the representative of Mary, fell on her knees before her, and implored her to go to Hunsdon; and in the same attitude to ask, in her name, pardon of the princess, for all the wrongs she had heaped upon her, while in possession of a step-dame's authority. Lady Kingston certainly went to Hunsdon on this errand, for there is evidence of her presence there a few days after the execution of queen Anne. Although the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, in her passionate penitence, took upon herself the blame of the ill-treatment her step-daughter had experienced; yet it is an evident truth that she was not the sole instrument in the persecution, since two months after she had lost all power, the cruel system of restraint and deprivation continued to afflict Mary, at Hunsdon. But this was artfully relaxed, directly Anne Boleyn was put to death, in order that the princess might lay the whole blame of her sufferings on the unhappy queen. This was very probably the effect of Cromwell's scheming. As the sister of Jane Seymour was the wife of his son, his plan of family ambition was plainly to depress the daughters of the two former queens, in order to favour the chances of Jane Seymour's children, female or male, wearing the crown of England, and being at the same time cousins-german to his grand-

[1] For these particulars, see the Life of Queen Anne Boleyn, vol. iv.

son. This recollection should be always kept in mind, while his conduct to Anne Boleyn at the time of her degradation and death is considered. The letters of Kingston, shewing the close espionage Cromwell kept upon her, and the eager manner in which he pursued her divorce, are corroborating circumstances of his inimical feeling towards her.[1] On the other hand, he was the active agent in forcing the princess Mary to acquiesce in her own illegitimation; his game was a fine one, and very skilfully he played it, working at the same time on the broken spirits of the desolate young girl and the despotic temper of her father, and making both the tools of his ambitious finesse.

Meantime, some kind of friendly acquaintance had previously subsisted between the princess Mary and the new queen, Jane Seymour, but when this commenced is one of the obscure passages in the lives of both which no ray has as yet illuminated. Be that as it may, Mary was encouraged to commence the following correspondence, in the hopes that her new mother-in-law was favourably disposed to her reconciliation with her father. The event proved, that notwithstanding all fair seeming, there was no restoration to Henry's good graces, but by the utter abandonment of her claim to her place in the succession—a result which Mary had, under the worst influence of Anne Boleyn, hitherto successfully avoided. The first letter of this series was addressed to Cromwell, evidently at the very time when lady Kingston had arrived at Hunsdon to deliver the dying confession of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Mary, according to her own words at the conclusion, took advantage of lady Kingston's visit to obtain writing materials, of which

[1] See Heylin, who observes that Cromwell quite usurped the place of Cranmer while thrusting this matter forward.

she had been long deprived. The letter is dated only one week after the execution of Anne Boleyn.

MASTER SECRETARY (meaning Cromwell.)

"I would have been a suitor to you before this time, to have been a means for me to the king's grace, my father, to have obtained his grace's blessing and favour; but I perceived that nobody durst speak for me as *long as that woman lived*, which is now gone, (whom I pray God of his great mercy to forgive.) Wherefore, now she *is* gone, I am bolder to write to you as one which taketh you for one of my chief friends. And therefore I desire you for the love of God to be a suitor to me of the king's grace, to have his blessing and *licence*, (leave,) to write unto his grace which shall be a great comfort to me, as God knoweth, who have you evermore in his holy keeping. Moreover, I must desire you to accept mine evil writing; *for I have not done so much for this two years, or more, nor could have had the means to do it at this time, but by my lady Kingston's being here.* At Hundsdon, 26th of May.

"By your loving friend,

"MARY."[1]

An intimation followed this epistle, that the king permitted his daughter to write to him; and she accordingly penned a letter,[2] chiefly compounded of supplicating sentences. It must be remembered that it had become etiquette to offer the slavish homage of this kind to royalty, since the days of Henry V. The only fact contained in this letter, is comprised in these words:—

"Having received, this Thursday night, certain letters from Mr. Secretary (Cromwell) advising me to make my humble submission immediately to yourself, which I durst not do without your gracious *licence* (leave) before, and that I *should not* eftsoons, *offend your majesty by denial or refusal* of such articles or commandments as it might please your highness to address to me, for the perfect trial of mine heart and inward affections."

No notice was vouchsafed to this letter by Henry, and Mary soon after wrote a second, in which she ventured to congratulate him and Jane Seymour on their marriage.

[1] Hearne's Sylloge, No. 20.

[2] See Hearne's Sylloge, copied from the MS. Cottonian.

LADY MARY TO THE KING.[1]

"In as humble and lowly a manner as is possible for a child to use to her father and sovereign lord, I beseech your grace of your daily blessing, which is my chief desire in this world, and in the same humble wise, acknowledging all the offences that I have done to your grace, since I had first discretion to offend unto this hour, I pray your grace, for the honour of God, and for your fatherly pity, to forgive me them; for the which I am as sorry as any creature living; and next unto God, I do and will submit me in all things to your goodness and pleasure, to do with me whatsoever shall please your grace. Humbly beseeching your highness to consider that I am but a woman, and your child, who hath committed her soul only to God, and her body to be ordered in this world as it shall stand with your pleasure; whose order and direction (whatsoever it shall please your highness to limit and direct unto me) I shall most humbly and willingly stand content to follow, obey, and accomplish in all points.

"And so, in the lowest manner that I can, I beseech your grace to accept me, your humble daughter, *which* (who) doth not a little rejoice to hear the comfortable tidings (not only to me, but to all your grace's realm) concerning the marriage which is between your grace and the queen, (Jane Seymour,) now being your grace's wife and my mother-in-law. The hearing thereof caused nature to constrain me to be an humble suitor to your grace, to be so good and gracious lord and father to me, as to give me leave to wait upon the queen, and to do her grace such service as shall please her to command me, which my heart shall be as ready and obedient to fulfil (next unto your grace) as the most humble servant that she hath.

"Trusting to your grace's mercy to come into your presence, which ever hath and shall be the greatest comfort that I can have within this world, having also a full hope in your grace's natural pity, which you have always used as much, or more, than any prince christened, that your grace will shew the same upon me, your most humble and obedient daughter, which daily prayeth to God to have your grace in his holy keeping, with long life, and as much honour as ever had king; and to send your grace shortly a prince, whereof no creature living shall more rejoice, or heartlier pray for continually than I, as my duty bindeth me. —From Hunsdon, the first day of June, (1536.)

"By your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

"MARY."

This letter was written on occasion of Jane Seymour's public appearance as queen, May 29th; it was accompanied with another to Cromwell, dated the 30th of

[1] See Hearne's Sylloge, copied from the MS. Cottonian.

May, thanking him for having obtained leave of writing to her father, and praying him to continue his good offices, till it may please his grace to permit her approach to his presence; at the time his (Cromwell's) discretion may deem suitable; but this favour was not granted till after a compliance was extorted from the princess to sign the cruel articles which stigmatized her own birth and her mother's marriage with as many opprobrious terms as Henry and his satellites chose to dictate. On the 8th of June occurs another short letter from Mary, from which may be gathered, that her sire had declared he forgave her all *her* offences; these were truly the injuries with which *he* had loaded her; but he had not yet either written to her, or admitted her into his presence—favours she humbly sued for, in her letter written two days afterwards, as follows:

LADY MARY TO KING HENRY VIII.

"In as humble and lowly manner as is possible for me, I beseech your most gracious highness of your daily blessing; and albeit I have already, as I trust in God, upon mine humble suit and submission, requiring mercy and forgiveness for mine offences to your majesty, obtained the same with licence to write unto you, whereby I have also conceived great hope and confidence that your grace of your inestimable goodness will likewise forgive me my said offences, and withdraw your displeasure conceived upon the same; yet shall my joy never return perfectly to me, *ne* my hope be satisfied, until such time as it may please your grace sensibly to express your gracious forgiveness to me, or such towardness thereof, and of the reconciliation of your favour by your most gracious letters, or some token or message as I may conceive a perfect trust that I shall not only receive my most hearty and fervent desire therein, but for a confirmation thereof penetrate an access to your majesty, which shall, of all worldly things, be to me most joyous and comfortable, for that in the same I shall have the fruition of your most noble presence most heartily (as my duty requireth) desired.

"I do most heartily beseech your grace to pardon me though I presume thus to molest your gracious ears with my suits and rude writing; for nature hath had its operation in the same. Eftsoons, therefore, most humbly prostrate before your noble feet, your most obedient subject and humble child, that hath not only repented her offences hitherto, but also desired simply from henceforth and wholly (next to Almighty God) to

put my state, continuance, and living in your gracious mercy; and likewise to accept the condition thereof at your disposition and appointment, whatsoever it shall be, desiring your majesty to have pity on me in the granting of mine humble suits and desires, who shall continually pray to Almighty God (as I am most bounden) to preserve your grace, with the queen, and shortly to send you a prince, which shall be gladder tidings to me than I can express in writing. From Hunsdon, the 10th of June.

"Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant, daughter, and handmaid,

"MARY."

Neither letter had elicited an answer from the king; the last was enclosed in a letter from Cromwell, which contains this remarkable sentence—"That she took him for her chief friend, next to God and the *queen*." So few days had elapsed since Jane Seymour had become queen, that this expression assuredly implies that some friendly communication must have passed between the princess Mary and her, previously to the death of Anne Boleyn. Cromwell continued to urge more unconditional submission, and even sent her a copy of the sort of letter that was to be efficacious with the king. The poor princess, ill in body, and harassed in mind, wrote thus to Cromwell, three days afterwards:—

"Nevertheless, because you have exhorted me to write to his grace again, and I cannot devise what I should write more, but your own *last copy*, without adding or *minishing*; therefore do I send you, by my servant, the same word for word; and it is unsealed, because I cannot endure to write another copy, for the pain in my head and my teeth hath troubled me so sore this two or three days, and doth yet so continue, that I have very small rest day or night."

Mary was at this time in deep mourning for her beloved mother. The imperial ambassador visited her during the month of June, 1536, and expressed surprise at the "*heaviness* (mournfulness) of her apparel;" his errand was to advise her to obey her father unconditionally. She thanked him for his good counsel, and told him she had written to her father. Here a provoking

hiatus occurs in the manuscript.[1] Eustachio, who had attended her mother's death-bed, probably delivered some message from the dying queen relative to the expediency of Mary's submission; but she had still a struggle before she could bring herself to compliance. The ambassador, to whom she had probably forwarded letters in Latin or Spanish, expressed his surprise at her deep learning, and asked her if she was unaided in the composition, which the princess assured him was the case.

The visit of the Spanish ambassador was followed by one from the brother of the new queen, Jane, Edward Seymour, lately created lord Beauchamp, and appointed lord chamberlain for life. He required her to send in a list of the clothing she needed;[2] and added the welcome present of a riding-horse, which benefits Mary thus acknowledged :—[3]

LADY MARY TO MY LORD ——.

"My lord,

"In my heartiest manner I commend me unto you as she *which* (who) cannot express in writing the great joy and comfort that I have received by your letters, as by the report of my servant, (this bearer,) concerning the king my sovereign father's goodness towards me, which I doubt not but I have obtained much the better by your continual suit and means; wherefore, I think myself bound to pray for you during my life, and that I will both do, and will continue, with the grace of God.

"Sir, as touching mine apparel, I have made no *bill*, (list.) For the

[1] MS. Cott., C. x., folio 253, ably edited by sir F. Madden. Privy Purse's Expenses, lxxv.

[2] The observation of the Spanish ambassador, on her heavy mourning, fixes most satisfactorily the chronology of this letter. New clothing was requisite when she laid aside her black.

[3] The letter has no address; but that Mary had written to him is indisputably proved in a letter to Wriothesley soon after, in which she expressly tells him he was the fourth man she had ever written to, the others being the king, Cromwell, and once to my lord *Bechame*. Besides, the benefactions awarded to Mary were peculiarly in the dispensation of the lord chamberlain. The original is in Hearne's Sylloge, copied from the Cottonian MSS., but by no means arranged according to historical chronology, which it has been the office of the author of this Life to rectify according to internal evidence.

king's highness' favour is so good clothing unto me, that I can desire no more; and so I have written to his grace, resting wholly in him, and willing to wear whatsoever his grace shall appoint me.

"My lord, I do thank you with all my heart for the horse that you sent me with this bearer, wherein you have done me a great pleasure; for I had never a one to ride upon sometimes for my health, and besides that, my servant sheweth me that he is such a one that I may of good right accept, not only the mind of the giver, but also the gift. And thus I commit you to God, to whom I do and shall daily pray to be with you in all your business, and to reward you for so exceeding great pains and labours that you take in my suits.—From Hunsdon, the first day of July.

"Your assured loving friend during my life,
"MARY."

Notwithstanding these signs of restoration to his paternal favour, the king had not condescended to notice the letters of the princess, till July 8th, when she either copied or composed the following epistle:—

LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"My bounden duty most humbly remembered, with like desire of your daily blessing, and semblable thanks upon my knees to your majesty, both for your great mercy lately extended unto me, and for the certain arguments of a perfect reconciliation, which of your most abundant goodness I have since perceived. Whereas, upon mine inward and hearty suit and desire that it would please your highness to grant me licence some time to send my servant to know your grace's health and prosperity, (which I beseech our Lord long to preserve, being the thing that is in this world my only comfort,) to my great joy and satisfaction I obtained the same. I have now (to use the benefit of that especial grace) sent this bearer, mine old servant Randal Dod, in lieu of a token, to present unto your majesty these my rude letters, (written with the hand of her whom your highness shall ever find true, faithful, and obedient to you and yours, as far as your majesty and your laws have and shall limit me, without alteration, until the hour of my death;) and so to bring me again relation of your prosperous estate. Most humbly beseeching your highness, in case I be over hasty in sending so soon, to pardon me, and to think that I would a thousand fold more gladly be there, in the room of a poor chamberer, to have the fruition of your presence, than in the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm."

If this last sentence has any meaning, it is, that Mary would rather be a domestic servant near her father, during his life, than heiress to his realm after his death; she concludes—

"And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother the queen, (Jane,) and to send you shortly issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign. From Hunsdon, the 8th of July, (1536.)

"Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and bondmaiden,
"MARY."

Henry VIII. knew that his daughter Mary was regarded in secret with deep affection by a great majority of his subjects, who acknowledged in their hearts (notwithstanding all acts of parliament) that she was, in her present position, heiress to the crown; and he remained in a furious state of irritation, till he had obtained an acknowledgment, under her own hand, of her illegitimacy. Since the death of Anne Boleyn, an act of parliament had passed, which not only illegitimated the infant Elizabeth, equally with Mary, but changed the constitution of the succession to more than eastern despotism, by enabling the king, in default of heirs by queen Jane Seymour, to leave his dominions, like personal property, money, plate, or furniture, to whomsoever he chose to bequeath them. It has been surmised that the king, by placing his daughters on the same footing with his natural son Henry, duke of Richmond,[1] meant to use this privilege in his behalf. Fortunately for himself and the kingdom, this youth was removed by sudden death, within a little time after passing this iniquitous act.

[1] The traditions of the ancient family of Throckmorton, contained in the MS. already described, give no very attractive picture of this youth's disposition. The celebrated sir Nicholas Throckmorton has left this remembrance, embodied in the verse of his nephew, of his introduction to life as Richmond's page—a post far enough from an enviable one:—

"A brother fourth, and far from hope of land,
By parents' hest I served as a page
To Richmond's duke, and waited still at hand,
For fear of blows that happened in his rage.
In France with him I lived most carelessly,
And learned the tongue, though nothing readily."
Throckmorton MSS.

Mary promised unconditional submission to all the king required, consistent with what she considered the laws of God; and the king sent down a deputation of his privy council[1] to apply the cruel test of her obedience, the principal articles of which were to acknowledge her mother's marriage incestuous and illegal, her own birth illegitimate, and his own supremacy over the church absolute. It will scarcely excite wonder that Mary demurred at signing these bitter requisitions. She did not think them consistent with her principles, and the council departed without their errand, although at the head of them the king observed he had, as a favour to her, sent his daughter's cousin, the duke of Norfolk.[2] As soon as they had departed, Mary wrote to Cromwell a letter expressive of uneasiness of mind, which drew from him the following insolent reply:—

"Madam,

"I have received your letter, whereby it appeareth you be in great discomfort, and do desire that I should find the means to speak with you. How great soever your discomfort is, it can be no greater than mine, who hath upon (the receipt) of your letters, spoken so much of your repentance for your wilful obstinacy against the king's highness, and of your humble submission in all things, without exception or qualification, to obey his pleasure and laws, and knowing how *diversly* (differently) *and contrarily you proceeded at the late being of his majesty's council with you*, I am as much ashamed of what I have said, as afraid of what I have done, insomuch as what the sequel thereof shall be, God knoweth.

"Thus, with your folly you undo yourself, and all who have wished you good, and I will say unto you, as I have said elsewhere, that it were a great pity ye be not made an example in punishment, if ye will make yourself an example of contempt of God, your natural father, and his laws, by your own only fantasy, contrary to the judgments and determination of all men, that ye must confess to know and love God as much as you do, except ye will shew yourself altogether presumptuous.

[1] The visit of the council to Hunsdon must have occurred some time between the 8th and the 21st of July, 1536.

[2] Heylin's Reformation. He had been husband of Anne Plantagenet, Mary's great-aunt.

"Wherefore, madam, to be plain with you, as God is my witness, I think you the most obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was, and one that is so persevering, deserveth the extremity of mischief.

"I dare not open my lips to name you, unless I may have some ground that it may appear you were *mis-taken*, (meaning, evidently, misunderstood,) or at least repentant for your ingratitude and miserable unkindness, and ready to do all things that ye be bound unto, by your duty and allegiance, (if nature were excluded from you,) in degree with every other common subject.

"And, therefore, I have sent you a certain book of articles whereunto if you will set your hand and subscribe your name, you shall undoubtedly please God, the same being conformable to his truth, as you must conceive in your heart, if you do not dissemble. Upon the receipt whereof, again from you, with a letter declaring that you think in heart what you have subscribed with hand, I shall, eftsoons, venture to speak for your reconciliation.

"But if you will not with speed leave off all your sinister councils, which have brought you to the point of utter undoing, without remedy, I take my leave of you for ever, and desire that you will never write, or make means to me hereafter. For I shall never think otherwise of you than as the most ungrateful person to your *dear* and *benign father*.

"I advise you to nothing; but I beseech God never to help me if I know it not to be your bounden duty, by God's laws and man's laws, that I must needs judge that person who shall refuse it not meet to live in a Christian congregation; to the witness whereof, I take Christ, (whose mercy I refuse,) if I write anything but what I have professed in my heart, and know to be true."

The overbearing style of this epistle effected the end for which Cromwell had laboured so long, and terrified Mary into signing the articles she had previously rejected. The young princess has been universally accused of meanness, because she yielded to these threats and reproaches, and signed the articles mentioned in this letter; but those who blame her can scarcely have dispassionately examined the whole circumstances of the case. While her mother lived, she was utterly inflexible; neither bribes nor the deadliest menaces could shake her firmness into the slightest acknowledgment which compromised that beloved mother's honour. As to her own individual interest, it either remained the same as in her mother's lifetime, or approximated nearer to the

crown, since the degradation of her sister Elizabeth, and the death of Anne Boleyn's son; therefore it is vain to attribute her renunciation of her rights to any cause, excepting a yearning desire to be once more enfolded in a parental embrace. *She* was gone whose noble mind would have been pained by her daughter's voluntary degradation; and Mary had no one left but herself who could be injured by her compliance. Henry had been used to caress his daughter fondly when domesticated with her; there is no testimony that he ever used an angry word to her, personally; she loved him tenderly, and with natural self-deception attributed all the evil wrought against her mother and herself, to the machinations of Anne Boleyn. She thought, if she were restored to the society of the king, instead of lingering her life away in the nursery prison at Hunsdon, she should regain her former interest in his heart—and she signed the prescribed articles, which are as follows:—[1]

LADY MARY'S SUBMISSION.

"The confession of me, the lady Mary, made upon certain points and articles under written, in the which, as I do now plainly and with all mine heart confess and declare mine inward sentance, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm, so minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do most humbly beseech the king's highness, my father, whom I have obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercy.

"First, I confess and knowledge the king's majesty to be my sovereign lord and king in the imperial crown of this realm of England, and to submit myself to his highness, and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm as becometh a true and a faithful subject to do, which I shall obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities that God hath indued me during my life.

(Signed) "MARY."

"Item, I do recognise, accept, take, repute, and knowledge the king's highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church

[1] Hearne's Sylloge. From the original.

of England, and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction, within this realm heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes made in that behalf, and of all the king's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage which I may by any means claim by the bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time, or in any wise hereafter, by any manner, title, colour, mean, or case that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

(Signed) "MARY.

"Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and acknowledge that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess dowager, was by God's law and man's law incestuous and unlawful.

(Signed) "MARY."[1]

Wriothesley was the person who brought the rejected articles for Mary's reconsideration; he had authority to promise, in case of compliance, that her household should be re-established, with every consideration to her respectability and comfort. The privy councillor, likewise, brought express orders that Mary should no longer call Elizabeth princess, but sister; an injunction which Mary in her next letter alluded to with something like archness, but at the same time with sisterly kindness to the motherless infant. Surely there is something of touching simplicity in the sentence where she says, "And now you think it meet I shall never call her by any other name but *sister*."

"Good Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound to you, which have not only travailed, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me before I sunk, and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face of grace and mercy, but desisteth not since, with your good and wholesome counsels, so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate (whereof there is now no spark in me), fall again into any danger.

"But leaving the recital of your goodness apart—which I cannot recount—I answer the particulars of your credence sent by my friend, Mr. Wriothesley. First, concerning the *princess* (Elizabeth), (so I think

[1] Hearne quotes all these articles as subscribed by Mary; Collier and Heylin affirm she did not sign the two last.

I must call her yet, for I would be loth to offend), I offered, at her entry to that name and honour, to call her sister, but it was refused, unless I would also add the other title unto it, which I denied then, not more obstinately than I am sorry for it now, for that I did therein offend my most gracious father and his just laws. And now you think it meet, *I shall never call her by any other name than sister.*

"Touching the nomination of such women as I would have about me, surely, Mr. Secretary, what men or women soever the king's highness shall appoint to wait upon me, without exception shall be to me right heartily welcome. Albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service done to the king's majesty and to me, since they have come into my company, I promise you, on my faith, Margaret Baynton and Susanna Clarencieux,[1] have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently as ever did women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so comformable as became me, and as glad when I inclined to duty, as could be devised. One other there is that was some time my maid, whom for her virtue I love, and could be glad to have in my company, that is Mary Brown, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of this shall be measured at the king's highness, my most merciful father's pleasure and appointment, as reason is.

"For mine opinion, touching pilgrimages, purgatory, relics, and such like, I assure you I have none at all, but such as I shall receive from him who hath mine whole heart in his keeping, that is, the king's most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same, touching these matters and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient and limit unto me. To whose presence, I pray God, I may come once ere I die, for every day is a year till I have a fruition of it.

"Beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things whatsoever they be, to repute my heart so firmly knit to his pleasure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the same. And thus most heartily, fare you well.—From Hunsdon, this Friday, at ten o'clock of the night,

"Your assured loving friend,

"MARY."[2]

The continued discussions as to the right of the daughters of Henry VIII. to the title of princess, lead to the conviction that at this era that title was but bestowed on the heiress presumptive to the crown of Eng-

[1] Her name was Susan Teonge. She was daughter to the Clarencieux herald. She lived with Mary till death parted them.

[2] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. (p. 224, Records.) Likewise in Hearne's Sylloge.

land, or, at the very utmost, to the eldest daughter of the sovereign, though it is doubtful whether she ever possessed it during the existence of brothers. Elizabeth of York was called "my lady princess" before the birth of her brothers, and perhaps retained the title after they were born, but her sisters were only called lady Cecily, lady Anne, &c., instead of the princess Cecily, &c., as they would have been in modern times. It seems doubtful if any of the daughters of Henry III., Edward I., Edward III., or Henry IV., were ever termed *princess* by their contemporaries. But the rank of the younger daughters of the English crown was designated by the elegant address of "grace," which was the epithet used in speaking to and of the king and queen.

At the same time that Mary wrote the letter to Cromwell, just quoted, she addressed the following one to her father:—

LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"My bounden duty most humbly remembered to your most excellent majesty. Whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to your highness those most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly piety (surmounting mine offences at this time) extended towards me. I shall lie prostrate at your noble feet humbly, and with the very bottom of my heart beseech your grace to repute that in me (which in my poor heart remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and professed towards your grace) whiles the breath shall remain in my body. That is, that as I am in such merciful sort recovered, being almost lost in mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me, justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble and obedient child and subject.

"My sister Elizabeth is in good health (thanks to our Lord), and such a child toward, as I doubt not, but your highness shall have cause to rejoice of in time coming (as knoweth Almighty God), who send your grace, with the queen my good mother, health, with the accomplishment of your desires.—From Hunsdon, the 21st day of July,

"Your highness's most humble daughter and faithful subject,

"MARY."

This letter, dated the 21st of July, 1536, may be considered as the concluding one of the curious historical series connected with Mary's forced renunci-

ation of her birthright. The opening phrases are couched in the species of formula prescribed to Mary from the commencement of the correspondence, in which the most servile terms of verbal prostration are studied, as offerings at the throne of the despot. But the letter ends in a manner that will startle many a preconceived idea of the disposition of Mary in the minds of readers who are willing to be guided by facts, not invective. Noble, indeed, it was of Mary thus to answer the agonized cry for forgiveness from the dying Anne Boleyn, by venturing a word in season in behalf of her forlorn little one. Even this generous trait has been inveighed against, as an act of mean flattery to the parental pride of Henry; and, had it happened during the prosperity of Elizabeth, so it might have been considered; but, mark how a plain matter of chronology places a good deed in its true light! So far from feeling any pride as the father of Elizabeth, Henry had just disowned her as a princess of his line, and horrid doubts had been murmured, that she was the child of lord Rochford,[1] and not even to be ranked as the king's illegitimate daughter. Who can, then, deny that it was a bold step of sisterly affection, on the part of Mary, to mention the early promise of the little Elizabeth, as she does in this letter, in terms calculated to awaken paternal interest in the bosom of her father?

Nothing now prevented the settlement of Mary's household; it was effected on a scale of the lowest parsimony, when compared to the extravagant outlay of her annual expenditure as an infant, and when she kept her court at Ludlow Castle; yet she expressed herself cheerfully and gratefully to Wriothesley, in the following letter, in which she informed him that he was the fourth

[1] See letter of a Portuguese gentleman, who was resident in London at the time, printed in Excerpta Historia, by sir Harris Nicolas, p. 264. He mentions, as a public report, that the privy council had come to this decision.

man to whom she had ever written. It will be observed, she mentions with great interest a faithful servant of her mother:—

"Mr. Wriothesley,

"I have received your letters by this bearer, which compel me to do that thing that I never did to any man except the king's highness, my lord privy seal, and once to my lord *Bechame* (Beauchamp, Edward Seymour)[1], that is to say, write to you, to give you thanks for your great goodness and gentleness besides all other times now shewed to me, as well as sending this messenger for my quietness as in entertaining my servant, Randal Dod. Furthermore there is another, who, as I hear say, also is much beholden to you, that is Anthony Roke, for although he be not my servant *he was my mother's*, and is an honest man, as I think; I do love him well, and would do him good. Sir, besides all these things, I think myself much beholden to you for remembering my cook, whom (I think plainly) I have obtained much sooner by your good means. For as I take you to be my second suitor,[1] as God knoweth, who help you in all your business.—From Hunsdon, this Thursday at nine of the clock (morning),

"Your friend to my power, during my life,

"MARY."

Mary, at the conclusion of these painful trials, settled in some degree of peace and comfort, holding a joint household with her little sister at Hunsdon. The persons nominated to attend her at this time continued in her service the principal part of her life: these were, four gentlewomen, four gentlemen, two chamberers, a physician, a chaplain, five yeomen, four grooms of the chamber, one footman, four grooms of the stable, a laundress, and a wood hewer. Her mother, queen Katharine, had at the hour of her death but three maids, as appears by her last letter to her husband: two of these were anxious to enter Mary's service—one of them, Elizabeth Harvey, applied to the council for permission, but was refused by the king; the other, Elizabeth Darell, "to whom the queen had left 300 marks, had said

[1] This expression may be mistaken by those who are not familiar with ancient phraseology: it merely means that she takes him to be her friendly advocate with the king, next in influence to Cromwell or queen Jane.

she saw no hope of lady Mary yielding to the king's requisitions, and therefore petitioned for a situation in the service of queen Jane Seymour." In the midst of all her degradations Mary was regarded with the utmost sympathy by her country; poets offered her their homage, and celebrated the beauty of her person at a time when no possible benefit could accrue to any one by flattering her. John Heywood, one of the earliest dramatists of England, wrote the following stanzas in her praise, which occur in a poem of considerable length, entitled—"A Description of a most noble Lady *ad*-viewed by John Heywood:"—

"Give place, ye ladies! all begone—
Give place in bower and hall,
For why?—behold here cometh one
Who doth surpass ye all.

"The virtue of her looks
Excels the precious stone;
Ye need none other books
To read or look upon.

"If the world were sought full far
Who could find such a wight?
Her beauty shineth like a star
Within the frosty night.

"Her colour comes and goes
With such a goodly grace,
More ruddy than the rose
Within her lovely face.

"Nature hath lost the mould
When she her form did take,
Or else I doubt that nature could
So fair a creature make.[1]

"In life a Dian chaste;
In truth Penelope;
In word and deed steadfast—
What need I more to say?"

[1] Dryden has a celebrated line—

"When Nature formed her she the die destroyed."

Byron helped himself to the same idea in his poem on the death of Sheridan. It here appears in the words of an elder writer.

Mary was her own mistress, and had the command of her own time after the establishment of her household, though, doubtless, she looked up to the excellent lady Margaret Bryan as her guide and protectress, who continued in the office of governess to her little sister Elizabeth; with whom Mary kept house jointly for three years to a certainty. The manner in which Mary passed her time there, and her course of daily studies, nearly coincided with the rules laid down for her by Vives, her mother's learned friend. She commenced the day with the perusal of the Scriptures, she then spent some hours in the study of languages, and devoted a third portion to the acquirement of knowledge of an extraordinary kind, considering her sex and station. Crispin, lord of Miherve, who was resident in England in the year 1536, and was author of a chronicle of current events, in French verse, has declared therein, that the princess Mary studied astronomy, geography, natural philosophy, and the mathematics; and read the orators, the historians, and the poets of Greece and Rome, in their native languages. She used to read over with her chaplain the daily service; she finished the day by working with her needle, and playing on the lute, the virginals, or the regals—three instruments on which she excelled. Latin she wrote and spoke with ease; it was the medium of communication of all the learned of the day, not only on scientific subjects, but as a universal language, in which the ecclesiastics and the leading characters of all nations were able to confer. She likewise spoke and wrote in French and Spanish; she was well acquainted with Italian, but did not venture to converse in it. In music she particularly excelled, for the rapidity of her touch on the manichord and lute.[1] Mr. Paston was paid as her teacher on the virginals, and Philip Van Wilder, of the king's privy chamber, as her instructor

[1] Michele, Italian MS. in the Lansdowne collection, 840 A, f. 156.

on the lute; the expense of such instruction appears to have been as high as 40*s*. per month.

In the autumn of 1536, notwithstanding the disinheriting statutes lately passed, overtures were renewed for the marriage of Mary with Henry, duke of Orleans —hints being perpetually thrown out by her father, of the possibility of her restoration to her place in the succession. Mary had, perhaps, a pre-occupied heart; for one of the letters of Beccatelli to his friend, Reginald Pole, December 1536, speaks of the reports current from England, "that it was the general opinion that the princess Mary would one day marry him, because of the love she had borne him from her infancy."

Lord Morley dedicated one of his translations from Erasmus to her; and, speaking of the change that had recently taken place in her station, he exclaims—"O noble and virtuous king's daughter! How is it that those of our time be so blinded! I can think no other, but that the end of the world hasteth apace." He calls her —"the second Mary of this world for virtue, grace, and goodness; and beseeches her to help correct his work, where he has by any means erred in the translation."

Notwithstanding the concessions made by the princess, no trace can be found of her admission to her father's presence before the Christmas of 1537. From this time the diary of her privy purse expenses commences, forming a species of journal of her life, in most instances to her credit, excepting items of high play at cards, and a general propensity to betting and gambling, which will excite surprise. In this examination of the private life of a princess so exceedingly detested by her country, whose memory is loaded with the reproaches to which every sovereign who is a party in the enactment of cruel laws, is liable; it is natural for a biographer (who is an active searcher after facts) to keep a vigilant scrutiny

on these records in quest of the evil traits, with which even the private character of the unfortunate Mary has been branded. The search has been vain: these records speak only of charity, affection to her little sister, kindness to her dependents, feminine accomplishments, delicate health, generosity to her god-children, many of whom were orphans dependent on her alms, fondness for birds—very little hunting and hawking is mentioned, and no bear-baiting. Her time seems, indeed, passed most blamelessly, if the gaming propensities above mentioned may be considered rather faults of the court when she visited it, than faults of hers. It is certain Henry VIII. was one of the most inveterate gamblers that ever wore a crown.[1] No doubt the royal example was followed by his courtiers, for very high play at the Christmas festival must have taken place at the court of queen Jane Seymour, if the losings of the princess Mary are calculated according to the relative value of money.

The visit of the princess Mary at the royal palace of Richmond commenced December the 9th, 1536.[2] How the long estranged father and daughter met, no pen has chronicled, but it is evident she regained, when once admitted to his presence, a large share of his former affections, tokens of which were shewn by presents and new-year's gifts. The king presented her with a bordering, for a dress, of goldsmith's work, perhaps some rich ornament belonging to her mother: it was not new, for

[1] This was the first of his bad qualities, which made its appearance early in his reign, when his high play with his French hostages excited the uneasiness of Katharine of Arragon, his losses amounting to several thousand crowns, every day he played at tennis. On the representation of the queen, that the losses were always on his side, he for a time abated this bad habit. It evidently returned after this good woman had lost her influence, for his loss of the lead and bells of abbey churches at dice, with the companion of his orgies, sir Francis Bryan, is matter of notoriety in history.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses of the princess Mary, edited by sir F. Madden, is the authority for this information, from p. 1 to 12.

she paid to a goldsmith £4. 3*s.* 4*d.* for lengthening the borders, adding in her own hand, "that the king's grace had given it to her;" likewise she noted payment to the goldsmith "for coming to Greenwich to take her orders." The court moved from Richmond to Greenwich before Christmas-day. Mary lost at cards six angels, or £2. 5*s.*, directly she arrived at Richmond; in six days, another supply of six angels was needed; soon after, a third of 20*s.*, besides 30*s.* lent her by Lady Carew when her pocket was again emptied "at the cards." In the course of this week, the entry of a quarter's wages for one of her footmen occurs of 10*s.*, which offers a fair criterion to estimate the extravagance of her card-losings, by comparing the present value of a footman's wages for a quarter of a year with every 10*s.* thus dissipated. As some atonement for this idle outlay, £1. 3*s.* was paid to "the woman who keepeth Mary Price, my lady Mary's god-daughter, and 15*s.* in alms, and 3*s.* 9*d.* to a poor woman of her grace living at Hatfield, and 7*s.* 6*d.* to John of Hatfield.

Cromwell presented the princess with a new year's gift of some value, for the present given to his servant who brought it amounted to three angels; he likewise sent her a "gift of sweet waters and *fumes*," for which his servant is given a gratuity of 7*s.* 6*d.* Among the other characters of historical interest who sent their offerings to Mary, on her return to court, occur the names, of lady Rochford (then one of queen Jane Seymour's bed-chamber ladies), of her father, lord Morley, Mary's old literary friend, of lord Beauchamp (the queen's brother) and his wife; likewise lady Salisbury.

To queen Jane's maids the princess presented each a ducat, amounting in all to 40*s.* The queen's page had 45*s.* for bringing the new year's gift of his royal mistress. Besides other presents, she gave the princess £50. The princess made many minor gifts at the new year to

those whom etiquette would not permit the offering of money. For instance, she bought of the lady mayoress of London six bonnets, for new year's gifts, at £1 each, and likewise paid her 10*s.* for two frontlets, a plain proof that the lady mayoress, in 1537, kept a haberdasher's or milliner's shop. The lord mayor that year was sir Richard Gresham, a near relative of the Boleyns, a circumstance which makes this little mercantile transaction between the princess Mary and her sister's industrious kinswoman a curious incident. Yet ample proof is afforded by the privy purse accounts, that the princess Mary, though formally forbidden to do so by Wriothesley and Cromwell, persisted in giving to her little sister Elizabeth the title of grace; this was, perhaps, owing to the adhesiveness of her disposition, which could not endure to alter anything to which she had accustomed herself. To an item of £1. 2*s.* 6*d.*, given "to Mr. Bingham," the princess has added, in her own hand, the explanation, "chaplain to my lady Elizabeth's grace," thus disobeying, wilfully and deliberately, the orders of council which degraded her young sister from royal rank; afterwards, wherever the name of Elizabeth occurs in her sister's account-journal, she is always mentioned with this distinction.

The princess Mary paid 5*s.* for mending a clock given her by Lady Rochford, and 20*d.* to Heywood's servant for bringing her regals (a sort of portable finger organ) from London to Greenwich. She had still further dealings with lady Gresham, the lady mayoress; "for divers and sundry things of her had," 42*s.* were paid in January. In the course of these accounts, attempts were made to charge the princess with various pottles of sack, charges which she pertinaciously resisted, and the intrusive pottles are carefully scored out by her hand.[1]

[1] Privy Purse Expenses, edited by sir F. Madden, p. 12.

The princess seems to have taken a progress after the festival of the new year, to visit her former mansion of Beaulieu, or Newhall, in Essex, probably to take repossession of this favourite residence; she, however, returned to the court at Greenwich, and remained there the rest of January and part of February. She paid in that month 5*s.* for making a window in her bedchamber there, and 10*s.* for the hire of a room to keep her robes in. The end of February, she removed to the palace of Westminster, and the French gardener there presented her with apples. She gave generous donations to the poor prisoners, in various prisons in London, a favourite charity of hers, and greatly needed, for the horrors and deprivations in prisons of all kinds rendered benevolence thus bestowed a very good work, and as such, it was always considered from the first institution of Christianity.

The situation in which Mary was placed at court on these occasional visits was a very trying one. She was a young woman, whose person was much admired, surrounded by parties, hostile to her both on a religious and political account, and she was wholly bereft of female protection. Her tender mother and her venerable relative (lady Salisbury) had both been torn from her—and who could supply their places in her esteem and veneration? A perplexed and thorny path laid before her, yet, at a time of life when temptation most abounds, she trod it free from the reproach of her most inveterate political adversaries. The writings of her contemporaries abound with praises of her virtuous conduct. "She was," says the Italian history of Pollino, "distinguished, when a young virgin, for the purity of her life, and her spotless manners; when she came to her father's court, she gave surprise to all those who composed it, so completely was decorum out of fashion there. As to the king, he affected to disbelieve in the reality of female virtue, and therefore laid a plot to prove his daughter. This scheme he carried

into effect, but remained astonished at the strength and stability of her principles."[1] Such assertions as this, it is very hard to credit: it may be possible to find husbands willing to be as cruel as Henry if they had the power; but, thanks be to God, who has planted so holy and blessed a love as that of a father for his daughter in the heart of man, it is not possible to find a parallel case in the annals of the present or the past. And if a father could be believed capable of contriving a snare for the honour of his daughter, it ought to be remembered that family honour is especially compromised by the misconduct of the females who belong to it; and Henry VIII. has never been represented as deficient in pride. This singular assertion being, nevertheless, related by a contemporary, it became the duty of a biographer to translate it.

The princess was resident at the palace of St. James, in the month of March, and gave a reward to the king's watermen for rowing her from the court to lady Beauchamp,[2] and back again; she had recently stood godmother to one of that lady's children.

The fondness of the princess for standing godmother was excessive. She was sponsor to fifteen children during the year 1537, in all grades of life, from the heir of England down to the children of cottagers. Her god-children were often brought to pay their duty, and she frequently made them presents. She stood godmother to a child of Lord William Howard, to one of Lord Dudley (who was afterwards the duke of Northum-

[1] Pollino, Istoria della Eccles., p. 396.

[2] Privy Purse, p. 16; likewise see p. 46, where the little god-daughter is sent to the princess to pay her respects; lady Beauchamp was, however, then called lady Hertford. Her husband was known in history by various successive titles, as sir Edward Seymour, lord Beauchamp, earl of Hertford, duke of Somerset, and Protector, as he climbed the ladder of ambition, from whence he experienced so fatal a fall. The above-mentioned lady seems to have been the haughty Anne Stanhope, by whom he had six or seven daughters. His ill-treated wife, Katharine Foliot, left him only the son Edward, whom he cruelly disinherited in favour of his other son Edward by Anne Stanhope.

berland put to death by her sentence); her god-child was, probably, lady Sidney. The princess, as before said, was sponsor to one of Edward Seymour's numerous daughters, three of whom were afterwards her maids of honour, and the most learned ladies in the realm. Lady Mary Seymour, the god-daughter of the princess, in partnership with her sisters, lady Jane and lady Katharine, wrote a centenary of Latin sonnets on the death of the accomplished queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I.

Whilst the princess Mary abode at court, the yeomen of the king's guard presented her with a leek on St. David's day, and were rewarded with 15*s*. In the succeeding summer, she was afflicted with one of her chronic fits of illness, and the king's physicians attended her in June and July. She sent queen Jane, from Beaulieu, presents of quails and cucumbers; there is an item in her accounts, "given in reward for *cucumbs*, and the same given to the queen at divers times."

It appears Mary practised the good custom of importing curious plants from Spain, and these *cucumbs* were perhaps among the number. Mary had returned to her home at Hunsdon in the month of September. Indications exist that her sister Elizabeth was domesticated with her, as notations occur in her expenses of presents to her sister's personal attendants. Mary stood sponsor to a poor infant, "the child of one Welshe, beside Hunsdon, on the 7th of October." She gave a benefaction to this little one, and bountiful alms to her poor pensioners (apparently as farewell gifts) the same day, and came to Hampton Court to be present at the accouchement of her royal friend queen Jane. It is likely she brought her little sister with her, since both were present at the christening of prince Edward, to whom the princess Mary stood sponsor, in manner already detailed.[1] She

[1] See Life of Jane Seymour, vol. iv.

was dressed on this occasion in a kirtle of cloth of silver, ornamented with pearls. She gave to the queen's nurse and midwife the large sum of 30*l.*, and to poor people in alms, the day the prince was born, 40*s.* She presented a gold cup, as a christening gift, to her brother; but as it is not charged in her expenses, it was probably one of those that had been profusely bestowed on her in her infancy. At the conclusion of the baptismal ceremony, Mary took possession of her little sister, Elizabeth, and led her by the hand from Hampton Court Chapel to her lodgings in the palace.

Ten days after, the calamitous death of queen Jane turned all the courtly festivals for the birth of the heir apparent into mourning. The king retired to Windsor, and left his daughter to bear the principal part in the funeral ceremonials about the corpse of the deceased queen. These were performed with all the magnificence of the catholic church. Whilst the deceased queen laid in state in Hampton Court Chapel, the princess Mary appeared as chief mourner at dirges and masses, accompanied by her ladies and those of the royal household. She knelt at the head of the coffin habited in black; a white handkerchief was tied over her head, and hung down. All the ladies, similarly habited, knelt about the queen's coffin in "lamentable wise." The princess caught cold at these lugubrious vigils, performed in November nights; and the king sent his surgeon, Nicolas Simpson, to draw one of her teeth, for which service she paid him the enormous fee of six angels.[1]

On the day of the funeral, the corpse of Jane Seymour was removed from Hampton Court to Windsor in stately procession. Very fatiguing must have been that day to the princess Mary, since she followed the car on

[1] See her Privy Purse Expenses. Strype has quoted the particulars of the princess Mary's attendance on her stepmother's funeral and obsequies, from a contemporary herald's journal. See his Memorials, vol. ii., part 1, pp. 11, 12.

which the body was placed, mounted on horseback. Her steed was covered with black velvet trappings; she was attended, on her right hand, by her kinsman, lord Montague, who was so soon to fall a victim to her father's cruelty, and on the left, by lord Clifford. Behind her, followed her favourite cousin, lady Margaret Douglas, who is called by the herald, lady Margaret Howard, a proof that her wedlock with lord Thomas Howard[1] was believed by the contemporary herald, who has described this scene. Lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Mary Tudor and Suffolk, likewise had her place near her cousin, the princess Mary. They were followed by the countesses of Rutland and Oxford,—both ladies of royal descent,— and by the countesses of Sussex, Bath, and Southampton.

As the funeral passed on the road between Hampton and Windsor, the princess Mary distributed 30*s.* in alms to poor persons begging by the way-side.[2] She officiated in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the day after, as chief mourner at the interment of queen Jane; and she paid for thirteen masses for the repose of her soul. She gave a sovereign apiece to the women of the deceased queen's chamber, and many gifts to the officers of her household.

Mary remained at Windsor Castle with her father till Christmas. King Henry was supposed to be bemoaning the death of queen Jane; he was really deeply occupied in matrimonial negotiations[3] for himself, but ostensibly for his daughter. Meantime Mary stood godmother to two more infants, one being the child of her apothecary, the other that of her physician, according to an entry in her accounts. "Item, given to John, potticarry, at the christening of his child, my lady's grace

[1] That unfortunate lover (or husband) of lady Margaret, was just dead in the Tower, where she herself had been a prisoner, and had been recently released, perhaps to bear a part in this very ceremony.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses, p. 42.

[3] See Life of Anne of Cleves, vol. iv.

being godmother, 40*s.* Item, given at the christening of Dr. Michael's child, a salt, silver gilt, my lady's grace being godmother to the same, price (of the salt) £2. 6*s.* 8*d.*" She usually added her own name to that of the godchildren, as, "Edward Maria,"[1] or "Anne Maria."

Christmas was kept at Richmond Palace.[2] A payment was made by the princess Mary, in December, of 5*s.*, to Perkins, of Richmond, for the *ferriage* on the Thames of her and her servants coming there from Windsor. Mary amused herself this winter by embroidering a cushion as a new-year's gift to Wriothesley, and a box wrought with needlework in silver for her sister, "my lady Elizabeth's grace," as she is designated in the diary of expenses. Mary likewise prepared a cap, which cost £2. 5*s.* for her infant brother and godson; and withal made his nurse, mother Jackson, a present of a bonnet and frontlet which cost 20*s.*

The princess remained at Richmond till February, and during this time lost money at cards to lady Hertford and lady Margaret Gray. She gave considerable sums in alms, and honestly paid William Allen, of Richmond, the value of two of his sheep killed by her greyhounds. She paid for the board and teaching of her poor god-children, and several items are charged for necessaries provided for "Jane the Fool," a functionary who is first named in the accounts of the autumn of 1537. Jane the Fool was sometimes exalted on horseback, as her mistress paid for the food of a horse kept for her use. Payments for shoes and stockings, linen, damask gowns, and charges for shaving "Jane's fool's head" frequently occur in the diary of expenses. The princess concluded her long visit at Richmond Palace

[1] Fuller's Church History.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses, pp. 42—45. From this journal it is evident the court was at Richmond during Christmas, though Hall says it was at Greenwich.

after Candlemas Day, when she went to Hanworth. She was forced to employ persons for making the road passable thither; she paid these pioneers 7*s.*, and gave besides 4*s.* 4*d.* alms on the road to Hanworth.

Among many other odd gifts she was presented with orange pies by my lady Derby. Oranges seem to have been in general domestic use since the reign of Edward I.; at this time they were bought for the use of the princess at the rate of 10*d.* per hundred. Lady Hertford's servant brought the princess quince pies; she was sent cockles and oysters, and received presents of strawberries as early as April and May, 1538—a proof that the art of forcing fruit by artificial means was practised in England at that period.[1] Many items occur of bottles of rose-water, a preparation in that century considered as an acceptable gift to royalty. Mary paid, this summer, repeated visits to her infant brother at Hampton Court; gifts to his nurse, servants, and minstrels, form heavy articles in her expenses. She appears to have watched over his infancy with the care of a mother.

Lady Margaret Douglas was in attendance on the princess at this time, for she was repaid 20*s.* for articles purchased for her use. The same year the princess received into her household and protection the lady Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald, a beautiful girl, who has excited no small interest in the literary world as the fair Geraldine, celebrated by the accomplished earl of Surrey. She was the near kinswoman of the princess, since her mother, lady Elizabeth Gray, was daughter of Thomas, marquis of Dorset, eldest son of queen Elizabeth Woodville. Her father, the Earl of Kildare, with the five gallant Geraldines, his uncles, had all perished in the

[1] Privy Purse Expenses, pp. 67, 69. The last are presented by a friar. The cherries given the princess do not make their appearance till June, therefore it was no extraordinary warmth of the year 1538.

preceding year by the hands of the executioner. Lady Kildare was left a widow dependent on the alms of her tyrant kinsman. Whether it was the princess Mary's desire to receive her destitute young cousin, or whether she was sent to her at Hunsdon by the king's pleasure, is not precisely defined; but it is certain that a firm friendship ever after existed between the princess Mary and the impoverished orphan of the Geraldines.[1]

More than one treaty of marriage had been negotiated by Henry for his daughter since the disinheriting act of parliament had passed; the king always setting forth that by the same act it remained in his power to restore her to her place in the succession, if agreeable to his will. He had been so long used to amuse himself with these negotiations that they evidently formed part of his pastime. Yet Mary's early desire of leading a single life was seldom threatened with contradiction by any prospect of these marriage treaties being brought to a successful conclusion. Thus passed away the suit of the prince of Portugal, made the same year.

The year 1538 was one of great trouble and convulsion in England; the serious insurrections of the catholics, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, which had occasionally agitated the north, since the autumn of 1536, were renewed nearer the court, and several nobles connected with the royal family were suspected of collusion. The most dreadful executions took place; one unfortunate female, lady Bulmer, was burnt alive for high treason and sorcery, and her husband butchered under the same pretence in Smithfield. The land reeked with judicial bloodshed, and the representatives of some of the most noble families in England perished on the scaffold. Among the requisitions of the northern insurgents there was always a clause for the restoration of the princess Mary to her royal rank—a circumstance re-

[1] Nott's Life of Surrey.

plete with the greatest danger to herself; and very warily must she have guided her course, to have passed through the awful year of 1538, without exciting greater jealousy than she did from her father and his government. Her establishment was for a time certainly broken up, for a chasm of more than a year appears in the book of her privy purse expenses. She had in the preceding autumn excited the anger of her father and Cromwell, by affording hospitality to some desolate strangers—probably some of the dispossessed religious from the overthrown monasteries, many of whom wandered about in the most piteous state of destitution. The princess promised Cromwell by letter not to offend in this way again, and adds, "she fears the worst has been made of the matter to the king."[1]

The Christmas of 1538 found Cromwell and the duke of Saxony (the head of the protestant league in Germany) busy negotiating the union of the strictly catholic Mary with the young duke of Cleves, brother to the duchess of Saxony. Burgartius, the vice-chamberlain of Saxony, was likewise employed in the proposal: this dignitary it appears had applied for a portrait of Mary, but was answered by Cromwell, "that no instance can be quoted of a king's daughter of such high degree having her picture sent abroad for approval; but Burgartius, the duke's vice-chamberlain, (*whoself* having seen the lady Mary,) can testify of her proportion, countenance, and beauty. And although," he adds, "she be the king's natural daughter only, yet, nevertheless, she is endowed and adorned, (as all the world knoweth) as well of such grace of beauty and excellent proportion of person, as of most excellent learning, honourable behaviour, and of all honest virtues and good qualities, that it is not to be doubted (when all the rest, as portion, &c., should be agreed) that no man

[1] Hearne's Sylloge.

would stick or stay concerning her beauty and goodness; but be more than contented, as he (vice-chamberlain Burgartius) knoweth well, who saw her visage."[1] Thus Cromwell continued to insist, that the face and accomplishments of Mary quite counterbalanced the defects of her title and fortune; but this marriage treaty proved as futile as the preceding ones, and only served to introduce the unfortunate wedlock of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII.

The beloved friends of Mary's youth, the countess of Salisbury and her family, were, in the commencement of the year 1539, attainted without trial, and overwhelmed in one sweeping ruin. In the spring of the same year, lord Montague, the elder brother of Reginald Pole, was beheaded on slight pretences; and the elegant marquis of Exeter, Henry VIII.'s first cousin and former favourite, shared Montague's doom. The countess of Salisbury was immured in the Tower, and at the same time bereft of all property, even of the power of purchasing herself a warm garment to shelter her aged limbs. Mary's other friend, the wretched widow Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter, involved in her husband's sentence, laid in the Tower, expecting daily execution, her captivity was shared by her little son Edward, the hapless heir of Courtenay, who was too young even to permit the pretence of having offended. As this utter desolation of these noble and semi-royal families was entirely attributed, by their tyrannical oppressor, to their relationship and friendship for Reginald Pole, whose chief crime was his firm support of the claims of Katharine of Arragon, it may be easily supposed how much the princess was agonized by their calamities. At this juncture, so replete with peril to herself, Mary was dwelling at Hertford Castle with her little sister Elizabeth; it appears she had had no establishment of her

[1] MS. Cott. Vitellius, C., fol. 287—296.

own, since the jealousy had occurred respecting the hospitality she had afforded the distressed strangers at her dwelling.

A tradition is actually prevalent at Hertford Castle, that a *queen* Mary was captive there for nearly two years, and a little room in one of the turrets is shewn as the place where she used to read and study. Mary queen of Scots is the person whom common report has identified with this traditionary imprisonment; but it is scarcely needful to observe, that she was never so far south, by many score miles, as Hertford town or castle. Local reports of this kind may usually be traced to some forgotten historical reality, and satisfactorily explained, if rational allowance is made for the confusion occasioned by similar names and station. Thus it may be observed, that our biography loses the princess Mary of England at Hertford Castle in 1538, and finds her there again at the end of 1539, under a sort of palace restraint, and when it is remembered, that she was afterwards *queen* Mary, little doubt can exist, that her durance has been attributed by the Hertford traditions to her fair and popular namesake of Scotland.

The low state of Mary's finances, this year, obliged her to make the following representation to Cromwell by letter:[1]—"It hath pleased the king's majesty, my most gracious father, of his great goodness, to send me every quarter of this year £40, as you best know who were the means of it, as (I thank you) you be for all my other suits; and seeing this quarter of Christmas must needs be more chargeable than the rest, specially considering *the house I am in*, I would desire you, if your wisdom thought it most convenient to be a suitor to the king's said highness, somewhat to increase the sum." She adds, "she is ashamed to be a beggar, but the occasion is

[1] See Hearne's Sylloge.

such she cannot choose." The king, in consequence of this application, sent her £100 by Mr. Heneage that month.

In a preceding letter she wrote to Cromwell she said:—

"My lord, your servant hath brought me the well-favoured horse that you have given me, with a very goodly saddle, for the which I do thank you with all my heart, for he seemeth to be indeed as good as I heard reported of him, which was, that he had all qualities belonging to a good horse. Wherefore I trust, in time to come, the riding on him shall do me very much good concerning my health."

She usually wrote in very affectionate terms to Cromwell, and took a rating from him now and then without much indignation; she had, when he was Wolsey's factotum and universal man of business, been used, from her infancy, to receive all her supplies from his hands, and to regard him as a person in practical authority.

Towards the close of the year 1539, the privy-councillor Wriothesley came to Hertford Castle, for the purpose of informing Mary "that it was her father's pleasure she should instantly receive as a suitor duke Philip of Bavaria," who was at that time in England, announcing the approach of his kinswoman, Anne of Cleves, the betrothed wife of Henry VIII.[1] Wriothesley speaks of his admission to the princess Mary in the following letter, as if she were very sedulously guarded, if not under restraint:—

T. Wriothesley to Cromwell.

"Pleaseth your lordship to understand that arriving here at Hertford Castle this afternoon, about two of the clock, *upon knowledge given of my coming, and desire to speak with my lady Mary's grace, I had immediately access to the same*, to whom, after the delivery of the king's majesty's token, with his grace's most hearty commendations, I opened the cause and purpose of my coming in as good a sort as my poor wit had conceived the same; whereunto she made me answer, 'that, albeit, the matter were towards her of great importance, and besides, of such sort

[1] Hearne's Sylloge. Sir Frederick Madden's comments on this letter are conclusive regarding the time of its composition.

and nature as the king's majesty not offended, she would wish and desire never to enter that *kind of religion*, but to continue still a maid during her life; yet remembering how, by the laws of God and nature, she was bound to be in this, and all other things, obedient to the king's highness, and how, by her own bond and obligation, she had heretofore, of her free will, according to her said bond and duty, obliged herself to the same, though she might by frailty be induced in this so weighty a thing to cast many doubts, and to take great stay with herself, yet wholly and entirely, without qualification, she committed herself to his majesty, as her most benign and merciful father and most sovereign lord, trusting and most assuredly knowing that his goodness and wisdom would so provide in all things for her, as should much exceed her simple capacity, and redound to his grace's honour and her own quiet.' Which thing she will this night write with her grace's own hand, to be sent by me to-morrow on my return. I assure your lordship here can be no more desired than with all humility and obedience is offered, and because I must tarry all night for these letters, I thought meet to signify how far I had proceeded, to the intent the king's majesty knowing the same, may further in all things determine as to his grace's high wisdom shall be thought meet and expedient."

The expression that Mary used to Wriothesley, "that the king's majesty not offended, she would wish and desire never to enter that kind of *religion*, but to continue still a maid," has occasioned some difference of opinion between two historians; "one taking it that she declined religious vows," another, "that she termed matrimony a species of religion." But if this letter really refers to the courtship of duke Philip of Bavaria, it is a plain representation that she would prefer remaining single, to marrying and owning as her lord, one who was a supporter of the protestant religion; and her words can bear no other meaning. Mary might venture this remonstrance to her father, who had committed such enormities in persecuting the tenets of the very prince, to whom he was now disposing of her hand.

A few days after the date of Wriothesley's letter, the French ambassador, Marillac, in a letter, dated December 27th, 1539, says—"I have heard from the same source, touching the marriage of the eldest daughter of the king, the lady Mary, with this duke of the house of

Bavaria. Three or four days ago, in the most secret manner which could be, he went to salute and visit her in a house of the abbot of Westminster, in the gardens of the Abbey, one mile from this city, where the said lady had been brought privately; and after having kissed her, which is considered here as a declaration of marriage, or of near kindred, and, considering also that, since the death of the late marquis,[1] no lord, however great he may be in this kingdom, has presumed to do so, this seems to imply much. The said duke had a long discourse with her, partly in German, with an interpreter, and partly in Latin, of which she is not ignorant; and, in conclusion, he declared to the king his resolution to take her to wife, provided that his person be agreeable to the said lady."

The day after Anne of Cleves made her public entry king Henry invested Mary's German wooer with the order of the Garter,[2] an honour which he well deserved; on account of his gallant defence of Vienna against the Turks, in 1529, when he won the cognomen of Bellicosus, or the Warlike. He was the first protestant prince invested with the order of the Garter, but neither his renown in arms, nor his eloquent wooing in high Dutch and Latin, could atone, in the eyes of Mary, for his Lutheranism or for his league against the emperor her relative. Philip the Warlike had many opportunities of seeing Mary during the festivities which celebrated the ill-omened marriage of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII. He departed from the court of England, January 27, with the intention of returning and claiming Mary as his bride, to whom he presented at his departure the love-token of a diamond cross. The important preliminaries of *dote* (or portion) and jointure were at that time already settled. Poor, indeed, they were, for the brave Bavarian was but a younger brother, and, being an opponent of the catholics,

[1] Probably her unfortunate cousin Courtenay, marquis of Exeter.
[2] Marillac's Despatches.

received Mary, of course, as a person of stigmatized birth. Henry VIII. named as her portion less than 7000*l.*, and duke Philip could offer her a jointure of but 800*l.* or 900*l.* per annum.

The insults and injuries that were inflicted on the unoffending Anne of Cleves by Henry VIII. broke the troth between Mary of England and Philip the Warlike. By her father's orders, Mary returned the diamond cross to the lord chancellor, who duly transmitted it to Philip. And Mary, perhaps, whispered, like Portia—

"A gentle riddance."

Yet the brave German appears to have been sincerely attached to her, for he remained single, and renewed his suit six years afterwards, and being repulsed, died a bachelor,[1] as became a true knight and lover. Well had it been for Mary if her hand had been given to the brave and true-hearted German Philip, instead of his cruel Spanish namesake!

The interrupted accounts of the princess commence again with the new year of 1540. Mary received many new-year's gifts, and was very liberal in her distribution of presents,[2] especially to her sister Elizabeth, to whom she gave a yellow satin kirtle, made with five yards of satin at 7*s.* 6*d.* the yard; the princess Mary, in her own hand, has marked against the item, "for a kirtle for my lady Elizabeth's grace." Seven yards of yellow damask, at the same price, is presented by Mary to the nurse of her brother Edward, for a kirtle. Mrs. Cavendish, the woman of the princess Elizabeth, and Ralf, her chaplain, are given new-year's gifts of 10*s.* each; and Mary twice supplied her sister's pocket with money to "play withal," the sums being 10*s.* and 20*s.* The new-year's gift she presented to her brother Edward was a

[1] Philip of Bavaria died at Heidelburg, in 1548; he was born in 1503, and was therefore a very suitable age for the princess Mary.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses of the princess Mary.

crimson satin coat, embroidered with gold "by the king's broiderers," and farther ornamented with pansies formed of pearls; the sleeves of tinsel, with four gold aglets, or hooks and eyes. A very inconvenient garment, stiff and cumbersome it must have been for an infant little more than two years old; but young children were habited in garments modelled into miniature resemblances of costumes worn by grown persons, a practice which certainly continued, till late in the last century, with far more ridiculous effect.[1]

The princess spent some weeks at her father's court, and many items of high play, and even wagers lost by her, mark the manner in which she passed her time. She lost a frontlet in a wager with her cousin, lady Margaret Douglas, for which she paid 4*l*. These frontlets were the ornamented edges of coifs or caps, similar to, or modifications of, the costume familiar to the eye in the head-dress of Anne Boleyn; some were edged with gold lace—and this, by the price, appears to have been of that class—and others with pearls and diamonds. The princess Mary not only pledged caps, but lost breakfasts at bowls, which were among the games played by ladies on the greensward. To counterbalance these items, she paid this quarter for the education of a child, and binding him apprentice.

In the summer of 1540, Mary's privy purse expenses suddenly ceased, and she was laid on a bed of sickness at her brother's residence at Tittenhanger. The last items recorded are her payments to the king's surgeon of a sovereign for coming from London to bleed her,

[1] Marie Antoinette was the first person who broke the absurd fashion of dressing infant boys as droll miniatures of their fathers. She attired the unfortunate dauphin in a simple blue jacket and trousers, for which she was reviled, as if little bag-wigs and tiny cocked hats, and all the absurd paraphernalia of full dress, had been points of moral obligation. There are noblemen yet in existence, who can remember, at six years old, joining the juvenile parties given by George III. and queen Charlotte, dressed after the models of their father's court costumes, with powdered side curls, single breasted coats, knee buckles and shoe buckles.

and fifteen shillings to her old apothecary John, for *stuff*; likewise alms to the poor of forty shillings, and a gift of pocket money to her sister Elizabeth. The diary of her expenses ceased a few weeks before the marriage of her father with Katharine Howard, and was not resumed for more than two years.

The disturbed state of England at this period gives reason to suppose that Mary's household was broken up, and that she, though passive and unoffending, was placed where her person could be in more security than in her own dwellings. Among other indications of change in her establishment, her young favourite, the fair Geraldine was taken from her service and transferred to that of the newly-married queen at Hampton Court. It was here that Surrey first admired her, as may be ascertained by his interesting biographical sonnet, which traces with singular clearness her origin, and the events of her young life:—

"From Tuscany came my lady's worthy race;[1]
Fair Florence was sometime *her* (their) ancient seat;
The western isle,[2] whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat.
Fostered she was with milk of Irish breast;
Her sire an earl;[3] her dame, of princes' blood.[4]
From tender years in Britain she did rest
With king's child,[5] where she tasted costly food.
Hunsdon[6] did first present her to mine eye.
Bright is her hue and Geraldine[7] she hight
Hampton[8] me taught to wish her first for mine;
Windsor, alas! doth chase me from her sight.
Her beauty of *kind*, her virtue from above,
Happy is he that can obtain her love!"

[1] The Fitzgeralds trace their origin from the Geraldi of Florence.
[2] Ireland. [3] Earl of Kildare.
[4] Her mother was lady Elizabeth Gray, grand-daughter to queen Elizabeth Woodville, and of course of the princely blood of Luxemburgh.
[5] With the princess Mary, after her father's execution in 1537.
[6] Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald lived there with the princess, where Surrey says he first saw her.
[7] This is no romantic name of Surrey's invention, but simply the designation of the Fitzgeralds in all the chronicles of England and Ireland of that day.
[8] Surrey had seen her at Hunsdon. It seems he was not struck with her charms till he beheld her at the court of his cousin, queen Katharine

Dreadful events took place in England, in the years 1540 and 1541, events which must have produced a fearful effect on the mind of the princess Mary, and prepared the way for most of the vengeful persecutions which disgraced her reign. This woful epoch saw the destruction of all her early friends. Her old schoolmaster, Dr. Fetherstone, suffered the horrid death of treason, in company with Abel, her mother's chaplain, and another zealous catholic. They were dragged to Smithfield with fiendish impartiality on the same hurdles that conveyed the pious protestant martyr, Dr. Barnes, and two of his fellow-sufferers, to the flaming pile. Scarcely could the princess have recovered the shock of this butchery, when the frightful execution of her beloved friend and venerable relative, the countess of Salisbury, took place. She was hacked to pieces on a scaffold, in a manner that must have curdled Mary's blood with horror, and stiffened her heart to stone. The connexion of these victims with Mary has never been clearly pointed out, nor the consequent effect of their horrid deaths on her mind properly defined, nor her feelings analyzed, which were naturally excited against those who were in power at the time of their destruction. Her murdered friends were persons of unblemished lives and unswerving integrity, against whom no crime was imputed, excepting their fidelity to the cause of her mother, and their disapproval of Henry VIII.'s spiritual supremacy.

When the explosion regarding the conduct of Katha-

Howard. His love was of the Petrarchian character. The fair Geraldine evidently considered the passion of the earl a mere compliment; for at the breaking up of the unfortunate Katharine's household, she married, at the age of sixteen, old sir Antony Browne, who, notwithstanding his plebeian surname, was the representative of Neville, marquis Montague. The fair Geraldine, after a most respectable wedlock of six years, lost her ancient husband, and retired once more to her early protectress, the princess Mary, with whom we shall meet her again. The only discrepancy in this memorial is, that Geraldine was considered but sixty-one when she died, in 1589; but it was no uncommon case, in the absence of registers, for a beautiful woman to be reckoned some years younger than she really was.

rine Howard took place, it will be found, by the State Papers, that Mary was resident at Sion[1] with her cousin Margaret Douglas, and the young duchess of Richmond, widow of Henry VIII.'s natural son. The princess and her companions were removed from Sion to make way for the wretched queen and her guards. They were escorted to the nursery palace of prince Edward by sir John Dudley, and some of Katharine Howard's servants were appointed to attend on them. The derelictions of Henry VIII.'s young queen restored Mary to the hopes of remaining second in the succession,—for so she was usually regarded, notwithstanding the acts of parliament still in force against her title. This improved prospect brought on an earnest negotiation for her hand, which was demanded by Francis I., for his second son Charles, duke of Orleans.[2]

This treaty was conducted at Chabliz, in Burgundy, and the most important dispatches regarding it are dated April 22, 1542.[3] The privy councillor Paget, a man of low origin, but deep in all the intrigues of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, was the ambassador from England. He was, it seems, a person who made his way by his facetious conversation, for his dispatches are a diplomatic comedy, and he gives the dialogue with the high-admiral of France respecting the princess and the duke of Orleans in a droll, quaint style, calling the princess "Our daughter"—viz., "daughter of England," while Bonnivet calls the duke of Orleans, "our son."

On the matter of *dote*, or dower, these two worthies were by no means likely to come to terms; and when Paget unfolded to the admiral that Henry VIII. only

[1] Vol. i., p. 692.

[2] Henry, who formerly bore this title, was at this time dauphin, by the death of his brother Francis, while the third son of France had now succeeded to the title of Orleans. Henry was at this time the husband of Catherine de Medicis.

[3] Burnet's Reformation, vol. i., p. 174. Likewise the same events are treated of, State Papers, vol. i., pp. 732—740.

offered 200,000 crowns with Mary, while Francis I. required a portion of a million, "the French diplomatist," said Paget, "heaved twenty sighs, and cast up his eyes as many times, besides crossing himself (for I marked him when he was not aware of it), then sending forth one great sigh" he spoke his mind pathetically on the smallness of the lady Mary's *dote*. Paget declared "it was a fair offer, since the duke of Orleans was but a second son. Had king Louis XII. any more than three hundred thousand crowns with the princess Mary her aunt, though a sovereign prince?—and as for the king of Scots, he got only one hundred thousand with Margaret."

Next day the duke of Longueville, governor to the French prince, took Paget by the hand, and led him to the apartments of his royal charge, where he was treated with an exceeding great feast and good cheer. About two o'clock (this was certainly after dinner) the admiral sent for Paget, and every man avoided out of the chamber. "Monsieur l'Ambassador," quoth he, "let us devise some means of joining the lady Mary and our prince together? We ask your daughter," quoth he; "for her you shall have our son,—a *genty* prince," quoth he, and set him out to sale. "We ask you a *dote* with her, and after the sum you will give, she shall have an assignment (of jointure) in our country."

"By my faith," continued he, "the *dote* you have offered is as nothing, and if the duke of Orleans were independent as Louis XII. and the king of Scots, he would rather take the lady Mary in her kirtle, than with the mean portion of 200,000 crowns."

The treaty ended futilely, like all the preceding ones. It had the effect, however, of paving the way for the formal recognition in parliament of Mary's rights in succession.

It may be gathered from a letter, hitherto unedited, at the State Paper Office, written throughout in Mary's

hand, that she was made the medium of pacification between her father and the emperor Charles V. From this curious epistle it is evident she was residing with her brother Edward and her sister Elizabeth, at Havering Bower. In all probability the princesses occupied together the neighbouring palace of Pergo. It will be observed that she mentions her sister as present with her at the audience she gave to the Spanish ambassadors.

LETTER OF THE LADY MARY.[1]

"My lord, after my most hearty commendations to you, these shall be to advertise you that this day, before dinner, the emperor's ambassadors came to Havering, where ..... (here a provoking hiatus occurs from injury to the paper, but the lost words have reference to the little prince her brother, and she goes on to say,) 'and after they had done their duty to him, they came to my sister and me, and shewed me how they had taken their leave of the king's highness, my father, and by his licence came for the same purpose, declaring unto me what great amity they trusted should increase between the king and the emperor, and how glad he would be to do me good; upon occasion whereof, as much as I could, I spoke unto them the whole effect of your last letter, whereunto they answered that they were sorry to enter into such communications with me, seeing they came but to take leave of me, and that the one of them, now going to the emperor's court, might, instead of thanks, tell complaints, and that it grieved them the more considering my modesty in so long time I had shewed ..... They took it to be great wisdom in me, that, seeing the matter of so long success, and the jeopardy that slowness causeth in such business, I would help myself, for they said that the help of God was won as well with diligence as with prayer. Moreover, desiring me to give them leave to speak, they said 'that if they had time to understand the least part of the good will, that the emperor hath shewed and beareth to the king's grace, my father, and to me, also, because I am the daughter unto—(here the words are gone, and whether the ambassadors mean Henry VIII. or Katharine of Arragon, is uncertain)—to whom he oweth the love and obedience of a son, they could somewhat blame me for the unkindness laid to their master's charge, but they attributed all, to the negligence and little care, that I had to be informed in that matter, and they took my diligence, now, for virtue; and because that in coming to particularize the fault and coldness that I put in them I might lay to persons to whom I owe reverence, and ministers to whom I owe good will, which they would not because the emperor's desire is that I should be always in the good will and obedience of the most noble king my father, as I am now.' Leaving

[1] State Paper MSS.

to dispute on their parts, they said 'that the will which their master beareth me was, and is, and ever shall be, entire, as shall be seen by the effect that he shall ever offer, and shall always continue, both in this and the friendship, which he hath ever borne to the king, (as they said before,) as well in the matter before said as in all things that a good and a just friendship and alliance ought.' They said, 'that was the thing they most desired in this world, and would think it great felicity and good gain to be ministers and intercessors; that this good and pure friendship may always continue for the desire that they have to serve both parties, and the good will they bear me.' This was our whole communication, as far as I remember, before dinner; and after dinner, when they came to take leave, I gave them as gentle words as my wit would serve me, according to your counsel, and they varied in nothing from the effect above said; and so I write this letter, for I could not be satisfied till I had fulfilled your desire in sending you word of all those things, as knoweth God, who keep you for ever more.—From Portgrove,[1] this Tuesday, at nine of the clock at night.

"Your assured loving friend during my life,

"MARYE."

The very guarded language Mary uses in this letter injures its perspicuity, but its object is evidently to impress cautiously, on the minds of her father and his ministers, the importance of her position as a bond of union between the English government and her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. This curious epistle affords the first instance of a daughter of the royal family of England taking any part as a diplomatist.

Mary came at Christmas, 1542, direct from young Edward's residence to her father at Westminster, as may be gathered from the re-commencement of her privy purse journal. To the care of mistress Finch was given her funds and likewise her jewels. The new year's gifts sent to the princess, for 1543, are noticed in the renewed accounts; some of them possess biographical interest, others mark improvements in inventions, the state of female costume and occupations, at that era. The princess Elizabeth sent her sister a little chain, and a pair of hose made of silk and gold. The lady Mar-

[1] This must mean Pergo, a palace for the female royalty of England, which was close to Havering Bower.

garet Douglas a gown of carnation satin, of the Venice fashion. The duchess of Suffolk, (Katharine Willoughby,) a pair of worked sleeves and *pullers-out*[1] for an Italian gown. Lady Calthorp, two pair of sleeves, whereof one pair was worked with silver, and the other with gold and *parchment lace*: this article occurs more than once, and was the first indication of Brussels lace.[2] Three Venetians sent the princess a fair *steel* glass. If this had been a mirror of polished steel, they would not have called it glass; but as Venice was the birthplace of looking-glasses, the accountant has supposed the quicksilver was polished steel put under glass. Another article occurs of the same kind directly after:—"My young lady of Norfolk, two pair of worked sleeves, half-a-dozen handkerchiefs, and a *steel* glass." Lady Anne Gray presented two artificial flowers; and her aunt, lady Kildare, mother of the fair Geraldine, a comb-case set with pearls. The fair Geraldine herself, under the designation of Lady Browne, of London,[3] sent a new year's gift to her patroness; its nature this year is not mentioned, but next year it was a fuming box, of silver. Sir Antony Browne, the ancient bridegroom of this young lady, drew the princess for his Valentine, 1543, and received from her a gift of a brooch set with four rock rubies round an agate, enamelled black, with the story of Abraham. There is a previous instance of the princess being drawn as a Valentine by George Montjoy, one of the gentlemen of her household, who received, in consequence, a present of

[1] These were the supporters to the ugly points worn on the shoulders of robes at that time, rivals in deformity to the stuffed sleeves recently the fashion.

[2] Among the stores of old families are still to be seen rolls of parchment, with Brussels lace flowers and figures, worked in point-stitch with the needle; they were thus prepared previously to being transferred to trimmings or lace.

[3] There is another lady Browne, probably sir Antony's mother, who sent presents to Mary, both before and after lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald's marriage.

money. The high collars with little ruffs, often seen in the portraits of this time, are described as being set on capes, and are called partletts. Partletts were often presented as new year's gifts. Likewise worked chemises, probably similar to the modern chemissette, are sent to the princess from many of her female friends; they are, however, registered by an old English word which looks homely enough everywhere excepting in Shakspeare's enchanting spring lyric,—but who objects to "ladies' smocks all silvery white?"

Several domestic animals are mentioned: Boxley, a yeoman of the king's chamber, was given by the princess, 15*s.* for bringing her a present of a little spaniel. Previously, Sir Brian Tuke had sent her "a couple of little fair hounds;" a woman of London had 5*s.* for bringing her a "*brid* (bird) in a cage;" and the woodman of Hampton Court took charge of a white lark the princess had left there, and he received 3*d.* for bringing it to her at Westminster, in April, 1543.

Mary was present at her father's marriage with Katharine Parr; this fact, and the circumstances connected therewith, have already been narrated in the biography of that queen. She accompanied her father and his bride on a summer progress to Woodstock, Grafton, and Dunstable; but being seized with a violent return of her chronic illness, she was carried in the queen's litter to her mother's former abiding place, the Honour of Ampthill. From thence, after several removes, she was finally carried to Ashridge, where her brother and sister were sojourning, and with them she spent the autumn. Many of her attendants were at this time suffering under the influence of a sickly season, and were as ill as their mistress; for her slender income was taxed for lodging, nursing, and medicine for them at a distance from the bustle of the royal residences. Her faithful old servant, Randal Dod, was very sick, and one of her

women, called Bess Cressy, was long chargeable during illness. Jane the Fool was indisposed in health, and on recovery was taken with a fit of industry, since a solitary article appears in the accounts of the princess Mary of 1*d.* expended for needles for "Jane the Fole." A chair was worked for king Henry in the autumn by Mary and her maidens, as a new year's gift for the king; it was of such ample dimensions, that the materials cost twenty pounds. When king Henry and his bride returned to Westminster, the princess Mary joined them there at Christmas. She must have been greatly distressed for money, owing to her bounty to her sick servants, and the expenses of her own long affliction, for she sold a pair of gilt-silver pots[1] for £37. 19*s.* 4*d.*, and a fur of budge for £19. 15*s.*[2] Soon after she received a very seasonable token of her stepmother's kindness, in the substantial form of a gift of £40. The income of Mary was so small and precarious, that every one of her numerous benefactions must have been attended with some degree of self-sacrifice.

Her early dignity as the sole offspring of the sovereign, and the great expenses lavished on her household and establishment in her infancy and girlhood, rendered the subsequent privations of a limited and precarious income more embarrassing. Those who sued for her bounty expected her to bestow as munificently as if she were the eldest princess of England; those who supplied her income apportioned it according to the law which had ranked her as an illegitimate and cast-off scion of the royal family. This harassing uncertainty of station, however, ceased with the close of 1543, and the ensuing year brought a favourable change in the prospects of the disinherited princess.

[1] Privy Purse Expenses, 96—152.

[2] This species of fur cannot be traced by our antiquaries; the great price proves that it was a precious material.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

Mary's restoration to royal rank—Court dress—Her popularity—Influence of Katharine Parr—Mary's translation of the paraphrase of St. John—Her privy purse expenses—Her horticultural importations—Her clocks—Portrait—Wagers—Her jewels—Gifts to her sister—Gift to lady Jane Gray—Death-bed charge of Henry VIII. to the princess Mary—Her letter to the duchess and to duke of Somerset—Lord Thomas Seymour asks her consent to his marriage with the queen—Her letter in reply—Mary's illness—Letter from the princess Elizabeth—Mary's disapproval of the protestant church of England—Controversy with Somerset—Mary's scriptural translation adopted by the church of England—Visit to St. James's Palace—Lord Thomas Seymour sends her a musical teacher—His letter and fall—Mary's long illness—Her death expected—Contest with Somerset on her recusancy—Somerset's fall—Hints of Mary's regency—Her retreat from political agitation—Marriage treaties—Disputes on religion renewed—Her expected elopement—Singular visit to court—Her servants ordered to control her—They prefer imprisonment—Mary's discussion with the chancellor, &c.—Intrigues to disinherit her—Lady Jane Gray's visit—That of bishop Ridley—Mary's Christmas visit to the king—Her last letter to him—His death—Mary disinherited by his will—She approaches London—The Dudley faction deceive her—Warned by Throckmorton—Her flight—Received at Sawston Hall—It is burnt in her sight—She promises to rebuild it—Passes through Bury—Reaches Kenninghall—Her dispatch to the council—Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen—Mary retreats to Framlingham Castle—Assumes the royal title.

An auspicious change took place in the situation of Mary, a few months after the sixth marriage of her father. Although her restoration to her natural place in

the succession was not complete, a strange reservation being made, in favour of the daughters Henry VIII. might have by queen Katharine Parr, or by any succeeding wives, yet Mary was re-instated in royal rank by act of parliament,[1] passed Feb. 7th, 1544.

On the 17th of the same month, Mary assisted at a grand court held by the queen her step-mother, for the reception of the duke de Najera, a Spanish grandee of the highest rank, whose secretary has preserved minute particulars of the ceremonial. When the noble Spaniard had been presented to the queen, he essayed to perform his homage to the princess Mary by kissing her hand, but she prevented him, and very graciously offered him her lips, a proof that he was her relative, and privileged thus to salute her.[2] Mary danced at a court ball given on the same occasion: her dress was extremely splendid, being a kirtle, or close-fitting under-gown, made of cloth of gold, over which was worn an open robe of three-piled violet velvet; a coronal of large precious stones completed this brilliant costume. Her magnificence of attire, and her public appearance at the reception of a grandee, who was the accredited agent of Charles V., may be considered as the effects of her restoration to royal rank. The Spanish secretary of the duke de Najera wrote, that Mary was pleasing in person, and so popular in England, as to be almost adored. "Among other praises that I heard of her," adds he, "is, that she knows how to conceal her acquirements, and surely this is no small proof of wisdom."

Either the religious prejudices of Mary were not so invincible as have been supposed, or the influence of Katharine Parr was indeed extraordinary; for by the entreaty of that queen, she undertook the translation of the Latin paraphrase of St. John, by Erasmus. The

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 179.
[2] See Marillac's despatches, previously quoted at p. 226.

original, which comprehended all the Gospels, was a work very precious to those who wished for reformation in the Christian church, founded on a more intimate knowledge of Scripture; but, like Scripture itself, the luminous paraphrases by Erasmus were locked in a learned language from the approach of general readers. It was the erudition and industry of the princess Mary that rendered into English the whole of the important paraphrase of St. John; she meant to have laboured further in the good work, when a recurrence of her chronic illness laid her once more on a bed of sickness, and her chaplain, Dr. Francis Mallet, revised and prepared the manuscript she had completed, for the press. It was comprised in the same volume with the other paraphrases of Erasmus, which were rendered into English by several celebrated reformers. Those who mistake Henry VIII. for a patron of the reformation, instead of what he really was, (and still continues to be,) its impediment, its shame, and its sorrow, have supposed that Mary undertook this task to please and propitiate her father. But that such course was not the way to his good-graces, is apparent from the anger which was excited in his mind against Katharine Parr, on account of the theological works patronized by her, anger which had nearly been fatal to that queen, soon after the publication of these paraphrases. Mary's translation, therefore, must have been undertaken wholly to please Katharine Parr, who, in her letter from Hanworth, Sept. 1544, entreated her to get her translation of St. John with all care and diligence, revised, and then with speed "to send this her most fair and useful work" to her, that she might with the rest (viz., the translations of Kay, Cox, Udall, Old, and Allen) commit it to the press, desiring withal to know of her, whether it should be published in her name, or anonymously. Katharine Parr added on this point, "that

in her opinion she would do a wrong to the work, if she should refuse to send it to posterity with the advantage of her name; because in her accurate translation she had gone through much pains for the public good, and would have undertaken more, had her health permitted. I see not why you should reject the praise which all deservedly would give you; yet I leave all to your own prudence, and will approve of that which seems best to you."[1]

Mary did not append her name to her translation, but she permitted Dr. Udal to say what he pleased concerning her labours in his preface, which was to the following effect:—"England," he said, "can never be able to render thanks sufficient, so it will never be able (as her deserts require) enough to praise the most noble, the most virtuous, and the most studious lady Mary's grace, for taking such pains and travail in translating this paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospel of St. John."

Dr. Mallet, who superintended the progress of this work through the press, could not have been long in the service of the princess Mary, having been chaplain to the late unfortunate queen Katharine Howard. He was highly esteemed by queen Katharine Parr for his deep learning; his principles appear to have been mild and liberal, if he may be judged by his co-operation with some of the fathers of the reformation in a work of general Christian utility. The persecution and severe imprisonment he met with in the succeeding reign did not, perhaps, encourage him in this happy frame of mind, since his name occurs in Fox's list of persecutors, —a solitary instance among the personal friends of Mary, who are almost all excluded from that black catalogue.

The manuscript, which has been preserved, of the

[1] See preceding Life of queen Katharine Parr. The further particulars quoted here are drawn from Udal's preface to the Paraphrases, and Strype's Memorials.

princess Mary's privy purse expenditure, closes with the year 1544; it has afforded a curious insight into her real manner of spending her time, her tastes, and pursuits. Among other remarkable points, it shews how small a portion of her means was bestowed on any of the prevalent devotional observances of the times. If she had been inclined to spend her income on attentions to the dead, instead of active charity to the living, she might have done so with impunity, as the masses for the soul of her friend, queen Jane Seymour, indubitably prove that such rites still formed part of the then established church. But no other expenditure of the kind occurs, and, with the exception of a yearly trifle offered at Candlemas, the expenses of Mary might have passed for those of a protestant princess. Many items occur in the course of this diary, which bespeak her love of flowers, rare seeds, and roots; she was a horticulturist and an importer of foreign plants, for her father gave £10 in reward to a person, because he had brought safely to England many trees from Spain, commissioned by "his daughter the lady Mary's grace."[1] She had a decided taste for clocks, like her illustrious relative, Charles V.,[2] for they form a prominent article in her yearly expenditure; sometimes she had as many as four repaired and regulated at once; she sometimes gave and received presents of clocks. Gloves were sent her from Spain as presents; she gave a gentleman, in the suite of the lord admiral, thirty shillings, for bringing her, from a duchess in Spain, a coffer containing twelve pair of Spanish gloves. Gloves of this kind bore a great price as late

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., edited by sir Harris Nicolas.

[2] It is well known that he diverted himself with clock-work in his retirement at St. Just, after his abdication, and that there his mighty mind convinced itself of the futility of religious persecution, by observing the difficulty of making two of his clocks strike simultaneously. He reasoned that if unresisting and unthinking matter was so hard to regulate, how could men be tortured into exact unison of thought? But this noble lesson he learned too late for the good of mankind.

as the middle of the last century, and were probably some of the relics of Moorish industry; they were made of exquisite leather, and embroidered with silk, gold, silver, and even with gems, and highly perfumed. The wicked suspicions of that age of crime often supposed that the perfumes of Spanish gloves were poisoned.

Painting was not one of the arts encouraged by Mary while princess, owing to her slender finances, but she paid John Hayes handsomely for drawing her work-patterns, and gave "one John £4, who drew her likeness" on a table; that is, it was a portrait painted on wood.

There is a good portrait, by Holbein, in the collection at Hampton-court, representing a princess about the age of twenty-four, supposed, rather too hastily, to be Elizabeth. The outline of the face is wholly different from the pear-shaped form of Elizabeth's visage, instead of which, it is short and round, and though sufficiently regular to excuse the praises of Mary's person, which formed the constant theme of her contemporaries in her youth, shews a slight indication of the squareness on the upper lip, which was afterwards so violently caricatured in the prints executed in the reign of her successor. If other tokens were wanting to identify it, the costume is sufficient, which had materially changed before Elizabeth had attained the age of the person represented. The colour of the hair has occasioned the mistake, which is of a red cast of auburn, when it is probable that Mary had the dark hair as well as the dark eyes of her Spanish mother. But most of the portraits of that era are embellished with red, or sandy hair; it is supposed that, out of compliment to the rufous complexion of Henry VIII., the locks of his dutiful courtiers were sprinkled with gold dust, or red powder, in order that those who had not been gifted by nature with the warm hue fashionable at court, might at least have the appear-

ance of possessing that enviable tint. Holbein's genuine works have a very deceptive quality, leading the beholder into much false criticism on his stiffness and hardness. The laborious finish of the flesh and draperies induces those who look at his pictures to examine them as near as possible, and the closer they are surveyed the flatter they appear; but let the spectator walk into the middle of the room, and the picture assumes a marvellous effect of roundness, and *vraisemblance*. Thus it is with the famous group of Henry VIII. and family, which is one of the treasures of Hampton-court; on a close inspection it seems as flat as a map, and as highly finished as an enamelled teacup; but as the spectator retreats from it, and looks at it from the centre of the room, the pillars move into panoramic perspective, the recess deepens, the glorious roof glows with lozenges of ruby and gold, the canopy juts out, and the royal group beneath assume life-like semblance. Thus it is with the young portrait of Mary,—if it is viewed from the window-seat to the right, its effect is full of nature and reality. The face is delicate and pleasing; the complexion pale and pure; the fragile figure shews the ravages of recent illness; the expression of the features is mild and reflective; and the whole design gives the idea of a lady student engaged in peaceful meditation. A book, with vellum leaves, is on a stand to the right, and the princess holds another, velvet bound, and clasped with gold, in her hands; fluted curtains partially open from the back-ground; these accessories Holbein has finished with Flemish patience. The book on the stand appears as if the studious princess had recently been writing therein. Her dress is in form, colour, and texture, exactly resembling that of queen Anne Boleyn, at the Louvre; it is square at the bust, taper in the waist, girded with a cordeliere of gems, and made of rose-coloured damask. The head-dress is of the round hood form. "Mary," according

to the Italian of Pollino,[1] "was small, fragile, and of a singularly beautiful complexion, but of a very different tint from that of her father; when a girl, she was much celebrated for her beauty, but the troubles she underwent in her father's reign faded her charms prematurely, though she was very far from ugly. Her face was short, her forehead very large, her eyes dark and lustrous, and remarkably touching when she fixed them on any one." The portrait engraved by Honbraken, with an axe, a fasces, and a mourning Cupid, entitled queen Katharine Howard, is indubitably the princess Mary, about the age of thirty. It is nearly a fac-simile in features, dress, and attitude, with her portrait in the family group at Hampton Court, only at a more advanced age.

The tone of the privy purse journal of the princess altered considerably when Katharine Parr presided over the English court. All cardplaying and betting vanish from the pages of this document; but in the preceding year Mary had lost the monstrous sum of £10 in a bet with Dr. Bill. A divine so called was distinguished among the fathers of the protestant church of England in the reign of Edward VI., but whether he is the same to whom the princess Mary lost her wager is a curious question. Such an incident is as much at variance with all preconceived ideas of the gloom and unbending sternness of Mary's routine of life, as it would have been of the primitive simplicity of that of Dr. Bill. If one could see a grand inquisitor playing at dice or betting at a horse-race with Calvin or John Knox, the sight would scarcely be more startling and anomalous than the plain item in the account book of Mary, noting cash thus won and lost. Strange, indeed, are the revelations when a sudden flash of light affords a transitory view into the realities of life, just at the commencement of the great religious warfare, which has raged since this period; the mind is tantalized with an earnest wish to know more of the private life and daily

[1] Page 396.

mode of conduct of those, who are only known to the world as persecutors on one side, or as martyrs, or theological champions on the other. Vain is the wish; the struggles of rival creeds for supremacy take the place of all other information, either personal or statistical; individual character, arts, science, and even the historian's absorbing theme—arms, are alike a blank in the annals of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary; yet all were undergoing changes as striking as those of religion. In this dearth of general information, assiduous examination of the documents which time and accident have spared, becomes a more imperative duty.

The remaining leaves of the book containing the accounts of the princess Mary, are filled up with the list of her jewels. Many interesting marginal notices, in her own hand, are added to it. The jewels were placed in the care of Mary Finch, and at the bottom of every page is the signature of the princess; and on each side of it four long scratches, to prevent any more writing being added. Among these jewels was a "book of gold with the king's face, and that of her grace's mother, (Katharine of Arragon.)" This is retained in Mary's possession; but the next article, a round tablet, black enamelled, with the king's picture and that of queen Jane, was given by Mary as a present to Mrs. Ryder, at her marriage with judge Brown. "A pomander of gold, having a *dial* in it," was given "to the lady Elizabeth's grace." This must have been a watch. Another item occurs of a plain tablet of gold, with a *dial* in it, given to lady Kingston. Among Mary's valuables were miniature paintings, set in brooches and tablets, evidently meant to be worn on the person; their subjects were mostly from Scripture history, but one given to the princess Elizabeth had on it the history of Pyramus and Thisbe. The king presented his daughter with a considerable number of jewels, the 1st of January, 1543; and [illegible] months before his death (the 20th of July) he pre-

sented her with so many, that it may be supposed they were her mother's jewels. Among them occurs another miniature of Katharine of Arragon, set with one of the king, opening like a book of gold.[1] Against one gold necklace, set with pearls, Mary has written, "given to my cousin Jane Gray," little thinking when she gave her young kinswoman a share of her ornaments, that the fair neck would be mangled by her order, round which these pearls were clasped. Many rich presents were distributed by Mary among her female relations; the names of lady Frances (mother to lady Jane Gray), lady Eleanor Clifford, and lady Margaret Douglas, (married to Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox,) frequently occur, familiarly named as "my cousin" Frances, Eleanor, or *Marget.*

Mary had been suffering with severe illness in the early part of 1546, and was in the spring at the court of her stepmother. A letter is extant from her brother prince Edward,[2] dated from Hunsdon, May 20, 1546, in which he congratulates her affectionately on her recovery, affirming that God had given her the wisdom of Esther, and that he looked up to her virtues with admiration. He desires her to give his love to lady Tyrwhit, lady Lane, and to lady Herbert; these were ladies of queen Katharine's household, and the last her sister—circumstances which prove that Mary was then resident at court.

Mary retained her father's favour to the close of his existence, though just as he was on the verge of the grave, her name was strangely implicated in the mysterious offences, for which the accomplished Surrey was hurried to the block. General history repeats perpetually that Surrey's principal crime was an intention of aspir-

[1] Many beautiful historical miniatures set in this mode were seen among the Strawberry-hill collection, though they chiefly belonged to the 17th century.

[2] Quoted in Strype's Memorials.

ing to the hand of the princess Mary; his own family history, however, proves that this was impossible, for his hand was already given to a wife whom he tenderly loved, and who survived him many years.[1]

Henry VIII. in his will confirmed Mary in her reversionary rights of succession, and bequeathed to her the sum of £10,000 towards her marriage portion, if she married with the consent of the council of regency. While she continued unmarried, she was to enjoy an income of £3000 per annum, which it appears arose from the rents of her manors of Newhall, or Beaulieu, Hunsdon, and Kenninghall. This last was part of the illegal plunder of the noble house of Howard, which she honestly returned, on her accession, to its rightful owner.

The silence of all English writers regarding any communication between Henry VIII. and his eldest daughter, when he was on his deathbed, obliges us to have recourse to the testimony of continental historians, and to translate the following passage from the Italian of Pollino:— "One day, when the king felt convinced that his death was approaching, he ordered his daughter Mary to be sent for. He addressed her with great tenderness and affection, and said—'I know well, my daughter, that fortune has been most adverse to you, that I have caused you infinite sorrow, and that I have not given you in marriage, as I desired to do; this was, however, according to the will of God, or to the unhappy state of my affairs, or to your own ill luck; but I pray you take it all in good part, and promise me to remain as a kind and loving mother to your brother, whom I shall leave a little helpless child.'"[2]

It is very probable that Mary actually made her fa-

[1] See Howard Memorials, by Henry Howard, esq., of Corby Castle.

[2] Pollino, p. 191. This writer must have had access to the muniments of history in those reigns, since we find in his pages repeated information derived from sources (as Privy Council journals, State Paper letters, &c.) which were unknown to the contemporary English historians, and have only been recently opened to the public.

ther such promise, because in all the stormy movements of the succeeding reign, though it will be presently shewn that snares and temptations were not wanting to induce her to seize the reins of government, she never gave, either secretly or openly, the least encouragement to any rebellion against the successive regents, who governed in her brother's name. Happy if she could preserve her own home from molestation—which was not always the case.

Her brother's first employment on his accession, was to write her, from the Tower, a Latin letter of condolence on their father's death, replete with as much personal affection to herself as the stiffness of a scholastic composition would permit.

The princess lived in retirement at her country-seats in the ensuing spring. The great changes which took place in religion immediately after the decease of Henry VIII., had as yet produced no collision between her and the protector Somerset; the following letters bespeak her on terms of great familiarity and friendship both with him and his wife:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO MY LADY OF SOMERSET.

"My good Gossip, (1547, April.)

"After my very hearty commendations to you, with like desire to hear of the amendment and increase of your good health, these shall be to put you in remembrance of mine old suit concerning Richard Wood, who was my mother's servant when you were one of her grace's maids. As you know, by his application, he hath sustained great loss, almost to his utter undoing without any recompence hitherto, which forced me to trouble you with his suit before, whereof (I thank you) I had a very good answer, and desire you now to renew the same to my lord your husband, for I consider it impossible for him to remember such matters, having such a heap of business as he hath. Wherefore I heartily require you to go forward in this suit till you have brought it to an honest end, for the poor man is not able to abide long in the city.

"And thus, my good Nann, I trouble you with myself, and all mine; thanking you with all my heart for your earnest gentleness towards me in all my suits hitherto, reckoning myself out of doubt of the continuance of the same. Wherefore once again, I must trouble you with my poor George Brickhouse, who was an officer of my mother's ward-

robe and beds, from the time of the king my father's coronation; whose only desire is to be one of the knights of Windsor, if all the rooms be not filled; and if they be, to have the next reversion in obtaining, whereof (in mine opinion) you shall do a charitable deed, as knoweth Almighty God, who send you good health and us shortly, meet to his pleasure.—From St. John's, this Sunday, in the afternoon, being the 24th of April.

"Your loving friend during my life,
"MARY."

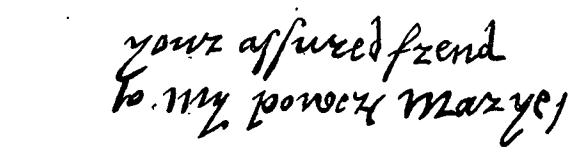
Mary's requests for provision for her mother's aged servants were duly remembered by her "good Nann;" for some months later, a letter of thanks in her hand occurs to the Protector:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO THE PROTECTOR.

"My lord,

"I heartily thank you for your gentleness shewed touching my requests late made unto you, whereof I have been advertised by my comptroller; and though I shall *leave* (omit) to trouble you at present with the whole number of my said requests, yet I thought it good to signify to you my desire for those persons who have served me a very long time, and have no kind of living certain. Praying you, my lord, according to your gentle promise, that they may have pensions, as my other servants have, during their lives; for their years be so far passed that I fear they shall not enjoy them long.

"Thus, with my hearty commendations, as well to yourself as to my gossip, your wife, I bid you both farewell. Praying Almighty God to send you both as much health and comfort of soul and body, as I would wish myself.—From Beaulieu, the 28th of Dec."



In June, lord Thomas Seymour wrote to her, requesting her sanction to his marriage with her friend and mother-in-law, Katharine Parr; her letter has already been given.[1] It is sensibly written, though somewhat prudishly worded, disowning all knowledge in wooing matters; and she evidently insinuates, that a six months' widowhood was rather too short for the widow

[1] See preceding life of Katharine Parr.

of a king of England; though perhaps Mary knew as well as the parties themselves, that they were already married. The princess dated her letter from Wanstead;[1] soon after she notified to Katharine Parr, that she was about to try the air of Norfolk for the restoration of her infirm health, and from that time she sojourned frequently at her manor of Kenninghall. She required the attendance of her chamber-woman, Jane, during an attack of illness that seized her in the autumn. This damsel had given her hand to William Russel, a servant in the household of her sister, on which occasion Mary received the following familiar letter[2] from the princess Elizabeth :—

FROM THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PRINCESS MARY.

"To my well-beloved sister, Mary.

"Good sister, as to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me, so it is nothing fearful, for that I understand it is your old guest, that is wont oft to visit you; whose coming, though it be oft, yet it is never welcome; but notwithstanding, it is comfortable for that *jacula prævisa minus feriunt.*

"As I do understand your need of Jane Russell's service, so I am sorry that it is by my man's occasion *letted,* (hindered;) which, if I had known afore, I would have caused his will to give place to need of your service, for as it is her duty to obey his commandment, so it is his part to attend your pleasure; and as I confess it were meeter for him to go to her, since she attends upon you, so indeed he required the same, but for divers of his fellows had business abroad that made his tarrying at home.

"Good sister, though I have good cause to thank you for your oft sending to me, yet I have more occasion to thank you for your oft gentle writing; and you may well see by my writing so oft, how pleasant it is to me.

"And thus I end to trouble you, desiring God to send you as well to do as you can think or wish, or I desire or pray.—From Ashridge, scribbled this 27th of October.

"Your loving sister,

"ELIZABETH."

The will of Henry VIII. was as replete with seeds of strife for his subjects as the capricious acts of his life had been. The monarch who had, on the suppression

[1] Ellis's First Series of English Letters.

[2] After the attainder of sir Giles Heron, in the time of Henry VIII., his manor house at Wanstead remained royal property.

of the monasteries, desecrated so many altars, and scattered the funds of so many mortuary chapels and endowed chantries, in utter disregard of the intentions of the founders, whose very tombs were often violated, left, by his will, £600 per annum for masses to be said for his soul!! He had likewise enjoined his executors to bring up his son in the catholic faith; by this he probably meant, the cruel church of the six articles which he had founded. This will was a serious impediment to the protestant church of England, for the establishment of which, Somerset and Cranmer took decided steps directly Henry expired. Before the parliament met in November, bishop Gardiner, the chief supporter of Henry's anti-papal catholic church was deprived of his see, and imprisoned in the Fleet. Sometime in the same autumn, a controversy by letter took place between the princess Mary and Somerset,[1] which appears to have been commenced by her earnest entreaties for the performance of her father's will, especially that part which related to the education of her brother.

Somerset's answer to the princess is alone preserved; it contains assertions regarding the protestant principles and intentions of Henry VIII., wholly contradicted by facts. Far wiser would it have been for the protestant protector to have boldly founded his opposition on the obvious truth, and argued on the inconsistency of Henry's testament and his deeds; but Somerset, like most politicians, sacrificed the majesty of truth to expediency, which conduct, of course, involved him in a labyrinth of disputation and self-contradiction.

In the course of the correspondence that ensued between Somerset and bishop Gardiner on the same subject, a remarkable fact appears, which is, that the

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii., pp. 14—37. For the will of Henry VIII. see Heylin's Reformation, p. 302, where it is printed at length. The original document is well worth perusal, as bearing striking evidence of the recurrence of the religious tenets which had been impressed in youth on the royal testator's mind.

paraphrases of Erasmus, among which the translation by the princess Mary held so conspicuous a place, was reprinted by the founders of our protestant church, and was provided in all churches throughout England as a companion to the Bible, being considered next in efficacy to the sacred volume itself, for the promotion of the reformed faith. It likewise appears that Gardiner's attacks on this very work was the ultimate cause of his imprisonment.[1] Mary's connexion with this publication forms a singular incident in the history of this controversy, and indeed in her own career. Thus strangely did Mary's opposition to the protestant church of England take place, at the very moment that church was taking for one of its bulwarks the work of her own pen.

The princess was invited to court by an affectionate letter from the young king her brother, who was, before religious controversy occasioned variance, exceedingly fond of her. The royal family passed the Christmas succeeding their father's death, in each other's society, on the most affectionate terms. From that time, however, the visits of Mary to court were few, and as she could not agree with the tenets of the protestants, she held herself as much in retirement as possible. The country was, the succeeding summer, in a state of insurgency from east to west, from north to south, chiefly on account of the utter misery into which the tyranny of the latter years of Henry VIII.'s government had thrown it. It ought to be noted, that not one of these insurgents implicated Mary's name in their proceedings; though, if she had given them the slightest encouragement, there cannot be a doubt they would joyfully have done so. Mary certainly limited her religious zeal whilst she was a subject, to the narrow circle of her own chapel and household, for which she claimed only toleration; this she was the less likely afterwards to practise, since

[1] Burnet, vol. ii., pp. 26—35.

no example was afforded her that it formed a principle of any creed established in Christendom.[1]

Notwithstanding all Mary's caution, the protector addressed to her some communication, accusing her servants of encouraging the rebels in Devonshire; she answered him by a letter,[2] in which, after proving that her servants were not near the scene of action, she concludes with these words:—

"My lord, it troubleth me to hear such reports, especially where there is no cause given; trusting my household shall *try* (prove) themselves true subjects to the king's majesty, and honest, quiet persons, or else I would be loth to keep them. And whereas, you charge me that my proceedings in matters of religion should give no small courage to many of these men, to require and do as they do; that thing appeareth most evidently to be untrue, for all the rising about this part (i. e. Norfolk) is touching no point of religion. But even as ye ungently, and without desert, charge me, so I, omitting so fully to answer it as the case doth require, do and will pray God that your new alterations and unlawful liberties be not rather the occasion of these assemblies than my doings, who am (God I take to witness) disquieted therewith. And as for Devonshire, no *indifferent* (impartial) person can lay the doings to my charge; for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country, as knoweth Almighty God; whom I humbly beseech to send you all as much plenty of his grace as I would wish to myself. So, with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewell.—From my house at Kenninghall, the 20th of July.

"Your friend, to my power,

"MARY."

[1] It is a lamentable trait in human nature, that there was not a sect established at the Reformation, that did not avow, as part of their religious duty, the horrible necessity of destroying some of their fellow-creatures, (mostly by burning alive,) on account of what they severally termed heretical tenets. The quakers were absolutely the first Christian community since the middle ages, who disavowed all destructiveness in their religious precepts. How furiously these friends to their species were persecuted, the annals of New England can tell; and Great Britain, though more sparing of their blood, was equally wasteful of their lives, for they were penned, by Cromwell and Charles II., by hundreds, in gaols—such gaols as were provided then, rife with malignant fevers and every horror. James II. declared to Bertie, one of his court, that he had released 1200 quakers, confined in different gnols at his accession. Original letters of Bertie, Retrospective Review, Second Series.

[2] Burnet, vol. iii., Hist. of Ref., Records 3, p. 195. This letter is supposed to be answered by Somerset in a letter preserved by Burnet, but the subjects do not agree.

Mary came to London in the autumn of [redacted] paid a visit to her brother at his private residence James's Palace. Here she must have occupied a regal suite of reception rooms, for she had a great concourse of her friends to visit her, and made most especial good cheer for their entertainment. The comforts and luxuries of the table were not, it is evident, forbidden at court, but the sound of musical instruments was wholly banished from the royal residences; nor did the first lady in the realm venture to indulge her favourite taste, by touching virginals, lute, or regals, while sojourning under the roof of the young sovereign of England. The widower of Katharine Parr, Lord Thomas Seymour, was among the guests of Mary. This is apparent in a letter he addressed to her, in which he returned thanks for her hospitality; at the same time he required her testimony (as related in the preceding biography) respecting the rich jewels her father had given to the late queen Katharine Parr. He, in the conclusion, alluded to Mary's total deprivation of music while she abode at St. James's, and insinuated that she must wholly have lost her practice. In order to obviate such a misfortune, he offered the services of his man, Walter Earle, who was well skilled on her favourite instrument, the virginals, to give her lessons. The inquisitors of the Star-chamber, who soon after carefully sifted all the proceedings of the unfortunate Seymour, found that he had had a long consultation with his man, Walter Earle, the night before that person set out on his errand to Mary. They shrewdly suspected that Walter was directed to intersperse with his musical lessons some words calculated to raise the ambitious widower in the good graces of the princess.

Great jealousy was excited in the mind of the protector, that his brother, if he failed in his matrimonial projects regarding Elizabeth, or Lady Jane Gray, meant

[redacted]is hand to the princess Mary. Nor were these [redacted]ions wholly unfounded.

THE LORD ADMIRAL (SEYMOUR) TO THE LADY MARY.

"After my humble commendations to your grace, with most hearty thanks for the great good cheer I (amongst others) had with you, at your grace's late being here. It may hereof please you to understand, that had it not been, that the little time of your late abode, did rather require to be absented from *suits*, (not troubled with applications,) than to be at any time *impeached* (impeded) of the entertainment, of so many of your grace's friends, which then came to visit you, I had, even then, by mouth, desired knowledge of the thing which now I am suitor for by writing.[1]

* * * * *

I have sent your grace this bearer to wait on you this Christmas, and to renew and bring to your remembrance such lessons as I think you have forgotten; because, at my late being at St. James's, I never saw a *pair* of virginals stirring in all the whole house; wishing I had some other thing that might be more pleasant and acceptable to your grace, whom for this present I commit to the good governance of God.—From Seymour Place, this 17th of December."

But one little month intervened between the penning of this letter and the impeachment of the hapless writer, and in still less time he was hurried without trial to the block, by virtue of a warrant signed by the hand of his fraternal foe. He employed his last moments in writing to the royal sisters Mary and Elizabeth, one of whom regarded him with feelings of friendship, the other with those of love.

Mary's health was so very infirm in the spring of 1540, that her death was generally expected; she herself felt convinced that her end was near. Had she died at this time how deeply venerated would her name have been to all posterity—how fondly would her learning, her charities, her spotless purity of life, her inflexible honesty of word and deed, and her fidelity to her friends, have been quoted and remembered by her country! Even her constancy to the ancient church would have been

[1] Here is omitted the passage regarding Mary's knowledge of the disputed jewels which has been already quoted in the preceding biography of Katharine Parr; the whole is in Haynes's Burleigh Papers, p. 73.

forgiven, as she was as yet innocent of the greatest offence a human being can commit against God and man—persecution for religion's sake. If she had never reigned, the envenomed hatred between protestants and catholics would have been less, and many horrid years of persecution and counter-persecution would have been spared.

She wrote a meditation on her severe illness in 1549, and sent it to her kinswoman, lady Capel, with these words:—

"Good cousin Capel,—I pray you, as often as you be disposed to read this writing, to remember me and pray for me, your loving friend, MARIE."

This cousin, whose relationship the princess claims so frankly, was daughter to the lady Manners, descended from Anne, duchess of Exeter, sister to Edward IV., by her second husband, St. Leger, and of course a descendant of the royal line of York.[1]

The sickness Mary alluded to, laid long and heavily on her at Kenninghall, and it seems to have been greatly aggravated by the arduous letters, she had almost daily to write to the protector, respecting her required conformity with the recently established church of England. In the course of this correspondence she frequently alluded to her sinking health. The point of contest was, her refusal to deliver up her chaplain, Dr. Hopton, her officer, Sir Francis Inglefield, and her comptroller, Rochester, for the examination of the privy council, regarding her domestic worship. In her letter, she rather appeals to the former friendship between her and Somerset, than uses harsh language; she speaks of her health in these words:—

[1] Parke's Royal Authors, and Strype. The present ducal house of Rutland, and its branches of the name of Manners, derive descent from the legitimate line of York through this source.

"I intend, with God's grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I *think* (expect) to live in quietness, praying for the king's majesty and all of you.

"Moreover, your desire seems that I should send my comptroller (Rochester) and Dr. Hopton (chaplain) to you. It is not unknown to you that the chief charge of my house resteth only on the *travails* of my said comptroller, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my letters patents; so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little *portion* (income) would not have stretched so far. My chaplain, by occasion of sickness, hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride; therefore, as I cannot *forbear* (spare) my comptroller, and my priest is not able to journey, I desire you, my lord, if you have anything to declare to me, *except matters of religion*, to send me some trusty person with whom I shall be contented to talk; but assuring you that if any servant of mine, man, woman, or chaplain, should move me contrary to my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used in my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you, and the rest (of the council) as well to do as myself.—From my house at Kenninghall, 22nd of June, 1549.

"Your assured friend to my power,

"MARY."

The dispute gathered strength as it proceeded, and in a letter written a few days after, she says, "her poor sick priest, Hopton, has set out in obedience to their orders, though the weather was cold and stormy, and he likely to fail by the way."

This controversial correspondence with Somerset was suddenly interrupted by his deposition from the protectorship. The faction which had deposed him (the leaders of which were Dudley, Cranmer, and Northampton) addressed an extraordinary memorial to Mary, giving their own version of the transaction, written with natural partiality to their own cause and conduct. From this singular document we abstract the following particulars:—

TO MY LADY MARY'S GRACE AND MY LADY ELIZABETH'S GRACE.

"It may please your *grace*,[1] with our most humble and hearty com-

[1] A duplicate of this state paper was certainly sent to both sisters, as it is superscribed to both, but is only pertinent to Mary, as the contents will

mendations, to understand that whereas some trouble hath chanced between us of the king's majesty's council and the duke of Somerset, and because the same may be diversely reported, we have thought it our parts to signify to your *grace* briefly how the matter hath grown, and by what means it hath now come to this extremity."

Many sentences then occur, accusing Somerset indefinitely of pride, ambition, and impracticability in business, and at last with flying into violent courses because he suspected a cabal against him. As addressed to the princess Mary, the following narrative of the only misdemeanour that could be alleged against the hapless Somerset is very curious:—

"We," resume his accusers, "had not dined together above twice, but immediately he took the Tower, and raised all the country about Hampton Court, *bruiting* and crying out that certain lords had determined to destroy the king's majesty, (whom we pray to God on our knees to make as old a king as any of his progenitors!) And when he had thus gathered the people together at Hampton Court, he brought his majesty into the base-court there, and to the gate, causing him (good prince) to say to the people crowded round the gate, 'I pray you be good to us and our uncle!'"

The scene of this stirring historical drama, we consider, is that antique quadrangle in Hampton Court which opens on the river, the bridge, and offices; this we think agrees with the term *base-court*. It is little injured by the hand of innovation; and here imagination can picture the royal boy, with his noble-looking uncle, supplicating through the grate, the motley crowd assembled from the banks of the river and the adjacent hamlets, "to be good" to them. But this did not form the whole of the protector's harangue, which chiefly turned on a political intrigue he suspected his rivals meant to agitate with the princess Mary. The document proceeds—

"When he, Somerset, began his oration to the people, and among his other untrue and idle sayings, declared 'That we wanted to remove him from his office, because we were minded to have your grace (princess

shew. It is printed at length in Mr. Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. i., p. 248. Our readers are only offered the passages relative to Mary; the whole we earnestly recommend to the perusal of those really desirous of historical truth.

Mary) to be regent of the realm; dilating on what danger it would prove to his majesty to have your grace, who are *next in succession and title*, to be in that place, and that therein was meant a great treason'—which, as God knoweth, we never intended—and consider all laws touching the government provide to the contrary; neither have any of us all at any time, by word or writing, opened any such matter to your grace, as your honour knoweth."

This singular communication bears every appearance of a snare laid for Mary by Dudley. It opened to her a prospect which she had never previously contemplated, of governing England, as princess regent, by the aid of his faction and the deposition of Somerset. Had she given way for one instant to the temptation of ambitious vanity, and encouraged Dudley by replying, "That as *next in succession and title*, her appointment as regent was by no means an unreasonable step," she had been lost, for the same party afterwards conspired to invalidate her title and right of succession to the throne. She knew them well, and gave no encouragement to the subtle hint. The whole transaction has, till very recently, slept in the dim twilight of the State Paper Office. Most wisely does Mr. Tytler observe, "that historical truth is progressive, of slow attainment, and to be found, if anywhere, in the original letters of the times." To this may we add, that history separated from the companionship of her sister biography, is an inexplicable riddle; for in the individual characters of rulers and princes, in their passions, interests, and good or bad principles, can alone be traced the springs of the outward and visible actions, which history records.

Dudley's despatch, after detailing many curious particulars relative to Edward VI. and Somerset, irrelevant here, concludes with the following strong canvass to enlist Mary on their side:—"We trust your grace, in our just and faithful quarrel, will stand with *us*, and thus shall we pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your grace's health."

It may be inferred, from Mary's kindness, on her accession to Somerset's down-trodden and persecuted family, after his enemies had wreaked their final vengeance on him, that she by no means approved of his ruin and execution; and it is certain, from the immediate renewal of aggravated severities against her for the practice of her domestic worship, that "her grace did not stand" with his enemies according to their earnest request. Indeed, Mary's utter retreat from all political agitation in her brother's stormy minority was a respectable trait in her character, and coincides entirely with Pollino's narrative regarding her father's death-bed charge. Whenever she was at issue with the ministers of Edward VI., her dissension was wholly personal, and never of a public nature. It was passive and defensive, and limited to repelling their interference with her domestic altar and worship; and when she had resisted their attacks, she neither meddled with their intrigues, fomented their factions, nor encouraged their enemies.

When the Dudley regency arrested her chaplains for officiating in her chapel, she appealed to the emperor on the subject;[1] and his ambassador, April 19th, 1550, demanded of the privy council "that the lady Mary might have her mass, which was denied," says her royal brother, in his journal. The denial was in ambiguous terms, since the imperial ambassador understood that "permission had been granted." Yet molestation to the princess continued during the whole year, and towards the autumn assumed a serious aspect. Meantime, the duke of Brunswick became a suitor for the hand of the princess, but was informed by her brother "that

[1] Several of her letters to Charles V. are extant in the Burleigh papers (Haynes's collection). They are inconsequential, being merely complimentary, and are not worth translating. Her confidential letters were in the Escurial. Great numbers of them were destroyed in the beginning of the present century, by being used as waste paper, together with letters of the sisters and aunts of Charles V.

Don Louis, the infant of Portugal, was engaged in a marriage-treaty for her, and when that was determined he should be answered." The duke of Brunswick was the second illustrious wooer Mary had had from among the champions of the protestant faith, and the marquis of Brandenburgh soon after offered her his hand. There seems, during the reign of Edward, to have been as many overtures for her marriage as when her father was alive. She gave her consent to the alliance with Don Louis of Portugal, but the match was never concluded.[1]

The emperor threatened England with war, if the lady Mary was not exempted from all penal law against nonconformity, which was at this time severe ;[2] and when the young king positively refused to permit mass to be said in her chapel, the emperor Charles sent ships, (commanded by one of his Flemings, named Scipperus,) to hover off the east coast, to receive Mary on board, and carry her to the protection of his sister, the queen of Hungary.[3] King Edward ordered sir John Gates to watch that his recusant sister was not stolen away from Newhall (which is situated near the mouth of the Blackwater, in Essex) to Antwerp. This measure was expected, because it was said at court that more than one of her gentlemen had been to the coast, and examined the best places for her embarkation. Thus it appears her favourite seat of Newhall was regarded with jealousy by the court.

[1] Strype's Notes to Hayward's Edward VI. W. Kennet, vol. ii., p. 315.

[2] The first of these acts of parliament, enforcing conformity with the protestant church of England, under cruel penal laws, was just carried into effect. Joan Bocher was under sentence of the fiery death, she afterwards suffered. Several Dutchmen, condemned to the flames, bore fagots to St. Paul's, and one was burnt to death. Sir Antony Browne, a faithful and honest servant of the crown, and several more, were imprisoned in the Tower for catholicism. It must be remembered that the great bulk of the English catholics who had complied with the measures of Henry VIII. were not in communion with the pope, and therefore it would be an historical absurdity to call them papists, because they would not use the Common Prayer.

[3] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, vol. ii., part 2, pp. 9—16.

The privy council endeavoured to entice Mary from the forbidden ground of Newhall by amiable representations, that the air of Essex was bad for her health, and the cause of a fit of illness which attacked her in the November of 1550; in answer, she wrote the following letter, which is pleasantly worded, and gives much personal information regarding her health and residences. It was probably addressed to the lord privy seal, Bedford, with whom she was always on friendly terms.

"My lord,—I most heartily thank you for your gentle and kind letters. And whereas, it should seem to you and others, my friends, that the soil and air of this house might be the reason of my sickness, for recovery whereof you think it good I should remove from the same. My lord, the truth is, neither the house or the air is herein to be suspected, but the time of the year, being the fall of the leaf; at which time, I have seldom escaped the same disease these many years—and the rather, to prove the air is not the evil, I have not at present (thanks be to God) any of my household sick. Notwithstanding, I had made my provisions at Wanstead and St. John's[1] this two months past, where I intended to have been all this winter; but by reason of one departed at Wanstead of the plague, who was buried in the churchyard very near to my gate, I was driven from that house; and then my disease coming on me so sore, (hearing also that the air at St. John's was not clear,) I durst not venture to take so far a journey, the *stay* (delay) whereof was a grief to me, because the chief intent of the same was to see the king's majesty.

"So having no house of my own near hand, I thought it not meet to make more provision in any other, but determined to rest here[2] till Christmas was past, and caused mine officers to provide accordingly. Moreover, for the better amendment of my health, you so gently offer me the choice of any of the king's majesty's houses, or any other man's house, being meet to be had, you would give order for the same. My lord, your gentleness in this, or in any other of my causes, doth appear so unfeignedly, that I have just occasion to think you my very friend; and not being otherwise able to recompense you, I shall pray for you.

"Hereafter, if I shall espy any house meet for my purpose, I shall make bold to require your favour therein; for I mean, if strength and health will suffer me, to change the air and house here for the cleansing of the same, and borrow my lord chancellor's house for ten or twelve

[1] St. John's is always alluded to as the town house of the princess. It seems to have been St. John's, Clerkenwell, where the Hospitallers had been dispossessed of a magnificent mansion by Henry VIII.

[2] Beaulieu, now Newhall, near Chelmsford.

days, who very gently hath offered me the same. And thus with my most hearty commendations, I wish you well to do, as myself.—From *Beaulieu*, (Newhall,) the 23 of November.

"Your assured friend to my power,

"MARY."

This letter was so represented, that it produced the observation from the young king in his journal, "that the lady Mary refused to come to him." Throughout the winter the controversy continued regarding the ritual used in her chapel, which, at last, became so serious, that she resolved to appeal to her brother in person. The offence given by Mary was, that she did not have her service celebrated with closed doors, but permitted her neighbours to come in crowds to share in her worship.

All ecclesiastics agree in the opinion, that no Christian congregation can thrust members of the same faith from the door of their place of worship while divine service is celebrating, if there is room within for their presence. Yet in the frightful system of antagonism which has only abated within the last hundred years, the struggle of each party, as it rose to power, was to suppress the resort of the people to rival places of worship. Mary could no more lock herself into her chapel as a catholic, than we as protestants could bar the door of a church in sermon time. She was accused of usurping the parish churches near her residences, occupying them with her chaplains, and causing mass to be celebrated therein; but that this is a false statement, bishop Ridley himself implied, for in his subsequent discussion with her on the subject of preaching to her, she referred him to the parish church at Hunsdon as the proper place for his ministry.[1]

Early in the following spring she was resident at Wanstead, close to London. A contemporary thus de-

[1] Strype, vol. ii., part 2, p. 334

scribes her manner of going to court:—"She mounted her horse, and, attended by a noble cavalcade of ladies and gentlemen, rode through Fleet-street to Westminster." Her intention was to make a personal appeal to her brother, on the interruption his ministers were then offering to her domestic worship. Every one of her numerous retinue wore a black rosary and cross hanging at the girdle, a display which naturally gave rise to irritation, and caused infinite offence to the protestant court of the young king.[1]

"At the great gate of the palace she alighted, and Mr. Wingfield, comptroller of the king's household, and many lords attended her there; and so she was brought through the hall unto the chamber of presence, and so she tarried there two hours, and ate a goodly banquet."

Succeeding years have drawn the veil from the two hours' conference which was Mary's concern at court, rather than the goodly banquet. "The lady Mary, my sister," says young Edward, in his journal, "came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called with my council into a chamber, where was declared how long I had suffered her mass *against my will*,[2] in the hope of her reconciliation, and how (now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters,) except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it." He told her, moreover, "she was to obey as a subject, not rule as a sovereign." She answered, "that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary words." She likewise offered "to lay her head on the block in testimony of the same." To which it appears the young king answered with some tender and gracious words. They are, how-

[1] March 18. This Cottonian chronicler (edited by sir F. Madden, Privy Purse Expenses, p. cx.), dates Mary's visit to court a day earlier than her brother does in his journal. Strype's edition of the same, adds the incident of the black rosaries.

[2] The king scored these words through in the journal, as if to expunge them.

ever, recorded by his sister, and not by himself. It is singular, that the same historians, who have loaded young Edward with undeserved praise, have here accused him of designs on his sister's life. The truth is, no one talked of cutting off her head but herself; and there exists her own evidence, that her brother received her ardent proposal of martyrdom with gentle and soothing expressions.[1] Some alarm was evidently felt for the princess by the populace, whose idol she then was; but she seems to have parted on friendly terms with the king, whatever resentment she bore to the council, since she obtained leave to visit her favourite seat of Beaulieu, (Newhall,) in Essex. The chronicler before quoted continues, that, after the goodly banquet, the same afternoon "she took horse and rode back to St. John's, and there she lay all night, and on the morrow her grace rode to Newhall, in Essex, and there bides with grace and honour,—thanks to God and the king her brother."

The king, it may be perceived by his journal, was personally aggrieved at the reluctance his sister Mary manifested at visiting his court; yet, had there existed no religious differences, the ceremonial imposed upon every one who approached the Tudor sovereigns must have been difficult for an invalid to support. "When one of the king's sisters eats with him," says the Florentine ambassador, Ubaldini, "she may not sit on a chair but a mere bench, and so far distant from the head of the table and the king that the canopy does not overhang her. The ceremonies observed before sitting down to table are truly laughable. I have seen, for example, the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother ere she took her place." The king was answered on the knee every time he addressed any one, even of the highest rank.

[1] See her letter, which is subsequently quoted.

Laughable it was that the representatives of Owen Tudor should exact from their court almost oriental prostration, when it is evident, from the minute descriptions of Froissart, that the mightiest of the majestic Plantagenets, Edward III., required no such servility; but the law had been so altered by the slavish parliaments of Henry VIII., that the national high spirit of the English was crushed in the dust.

The very next day to Mary's visit, the emperor's ambassador declared "that if his master's kinswoman was any further molested in her religious rites he should quit the country preparatory to a declaration of war." The ministers, and even the bishops of the young king, assured him that war with the Low Countries would be utter ruin to England, and that he must wink at his sister's mass for awhile,—whereat he wept;[1] and the enforced toleration did not last long. For Francis Mallet, the head chaplain to the princess's household, was seized, and confined rigidly in the Tower, and a person placed in his cell night and day to watch what he said and did. This was the more to be deplored, since Mallet had shewn, by aiding Mary in the translation of Erasmus, a tendency to liberality of principles; and when such a person meets persecution, the mischief done to the general cause of Christianity is great, since all the tendencies to kindliness and mutual forbearance are changed into polemic fury. Mallet was esteemed by queen Katharine Parr, and was a retiring character, but a man of great learning and sincerity. He had been long in the service of the princess Mary, and it was to him she addressed the following words, at the end of a prayer she composed:—"Good Francis, pray that I may have grace to obtain the petitions contained in this prayer above written. Your assured loving mistress, during life,—MARIE."[2] When this old and tried friend

[1] Edward's Journal, as quoted in Lingard and Madden.
[2] Sir F. Madden's Privy Purse Expenses, p. cxxxvi.

was dragged from under her roof to prison, Mary wrote earnest letters of remonstrance to her brother and his council, but in vain. She continued, however, to have her religious service celebrated by her remaining chaplains, although, in the following August, another attempt was made to prevent it. She was then at Copt Hall, Waltham, Essex, when the king and council sent for the comptroller of her household, Mr. Robert Rochester, with Mr. Walgrave and sir Francis Inglefield, her two other principal officers, and, after using many menaces and persuasions, charged them to return to their mistress, and inform her and her remaining chaplains, that mass should not be continued; in short, these officers were charged to control the princess in her own house, by altogether putting a stop to her religious service;[1] and if, in consequence, she discharged them from her service, they were to stay nevertheless, and enforce the king's orders. Most unwillingly, and with heavy hearts, did Mary's officers depart on this errand. How they sped in their attempts to control their mistress their own words will best testify:—"We arrived at Copped Hall, August 15, late in the evening; but as the following day was Sunday, and her grace was to receive the sacrament, we abstained from delivering the letters before noon, lest she should be disquieted." After dinner, they presented the letters delivered to them at Hampton Court, on the 14th, and when the princess had read them, they prayed her to be contented to hear the commission, they had received of the council. To which her grace made answer, "that she knew right well that their commission agreed with the letters before her, therefore they need not rehearse it." They implored her to permit them to obey the council, and at last she consented to hear their message, but was marvellously offended when she heard it, and

[1] Privy Council Book. Likewise Ellis's Letters, First Series.

forbade them "to declare the same to her chaplains and household; if they did, they must no longer consider her as their mistress,—moreover, she would leave the house directly." As during this interview they all observed "that her colour often altered, and she seemed passioned and unquiet, they forbore to trouble her farther, fearing that the troubling her might bring on an attack of her old disease;" they, therefore, begged her "to consider the matter within herself, and pause upon her answer to the council till the next Wednesday, when they would wait upon her grace again to hear further her pleasure;" adding, that they did this hoping "to find her more conformable."

On Wednesday they found her anything but conformable, for she would not permit them to declare their charge from the council to her chaplains and family, saying, "her household were enjoying the completest peace and quiet, and if they chose to disturb her and them, and any ill should arise, they, the said Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, must answer for the blame of it."[1] On this they preferred returning to the council without performing their commission, contenting themselves with bringing to Windsor for his majesty "letters from the lady Mary's grace, as followeth:"—

"My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty.

"It may please you to be advertised, that I have by my servants received your most honourable letter, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me; and so much the more, for that any of my servants should move or trouble me, in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest subject in your realm, could evil bear at their servants' hand, having for my part utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein.

"To them I have declared what I think, as she, which trusteth your majesty would have suffered me, your poor humble sister and bedeswoman, to have used the accustomed mass, which the king your father

[1] See the original MS. Harleian, 352, fol. 186. It is printed with some acute comments, in sir Henry Ellis's first collection of English Letters. The narrative of the unfortunate officers is drawn from a MS. belonging to the collection of sir T. Phillipps, at Middle Hill.

and mine, with all his predecessors, evermore used, wherein also I have been brought up from my youth; and thereunto my conscience doth not only bind me (which will by no means suffer me to think one thing and do *another*), but also the promise made to the emperor, by your majesty's council, was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not break the laws, although they seem now to qualify and deny the thing.

"And at my last waiting on your highness, I was so bold as to declare my mind and conscience, and desired your highness, rather than constrain it, *to take my life*; whereunto your majesty made me a *very gentle answer*.

"And now I beseech your highness to give me leave to write, what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed, they may be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known, that heretofore, I have declared in the presence of your highness that, though (our Lord be praised) your majesty hath far more knowledge, and greater gifts, than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion; and therefore I take it that the matter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings, your majesty not offended, I mean not to rule my conscience.

"And thus, without molesting your highness any further, I humbly beseech the same ever, for God's sake, to bear with me as you have done; and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your majesty or to your realm, for I use it not after any such sort—*putting* (having) no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or die, your majesty shall perceive, mine intent, is grounded upon a true love towards you; whose royal estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is, and shall be, my prayer, according to my duty.

"And after pardon craved of your majesty for this rude and bold letter, if neither at my humble suit, nor for regard of the promise made to the emperor, you will suffer and bear with me as you have done till your majesty may be a judge herein yourself, and right understand their proceeding, (of which yet I despair not,) rather than to offend God and my conscience, I offer my body at your will, *and death shall be more welcome than life* with a troubled conscience.

"Most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your letters, for my old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your majesty in all virtue, and honour, and long life at his pleasure.—From my poor house at Copped Hall, (Essex,) the 19 of August.

"Your majesty's most humble sister,

"MARY."

Edward VI. and his council took four days for the consideration of this letter; nor could they devise a more

rational scheme of reducing the recusant princess to conformity, than by continuing to excite her own servants to control her, "who, being accustomed to render her implicit obedience," were, as she shrewdly remarked, "the last persons likely to enforce it." And so it proved; for when Robert Rochester, her principal officer, was brought before the king and council, in order to receive a second code of instructions, on his return to his vocation in the household of the princess, he flatly refused to carry any more messages, vowing he had had enough of his first commission; they might send him to prison if they liked, but as to face his mistress on any such errands he would *not*.[1] Sir Francis Inglefield and Mr. Walgrave were precisely in the same mind, refusing to intermeddle with the religious rites in the household of their lady, saying it was against their consciences. In this dilemma the council found they must carry their own messages themselves; accordingly, a deputation of their body set off, for the purpose of reducing the princess to obedience: the persons composing it were the lord chancellor Rich, sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of the king's household, and Mr. Petre; they likewise brought a gentleman, who meant to favour Mary with his service in the place of the impracticable Robert Rochester, who was forthwith conveyed prisoner, first to the Fleet, and then to the Tower.

The proceedings of the privy councillors at Copt Hall cannot be better narrated than in the words of the lord chancellor[2] himself, who, in a very tragic tone, thus

[1] Privy Council Book, reign of Edward VI.

[2] Privy Council Book, and Ellis's Letters, first series. This lord chancellor Rich, on account of ill health, resigned the seals a few months afterwards. (See Edward's Journal.) He was the same person who climbed into favour by the persecution of sir Thomas More, and whose perjured testimony was the only shadow of witness against him. He is the man who is accused by Fox of throwing off his gown, and aiding Wriothesley in working the rack that tortured poor Anne Askew, in order to wring from her evidence to destroy queen Katharine Parr. Yet, in 1551, he

relates a scene, which, contrasted with the sad and tearful events of those times of terror, positively ends with a tinge of comedy:—

"I, the lord chancellor, delivered his majesty's letters to the lady Mary, who received them on her knees, saying, that she would kiss the letter because the king had signed it, and not for the matter contained therein, which was merely the doings of his council. Reading it to herself, she said these words in our hearing:—

"'Ah, good Mr. Cecil took much pains here!'"

When they began to exhort her on the business they came on, she prayed them to be brief; "for," said she, "I am ill at ease in health, and I shall, mayhap, make you a short answer, having written my mind to his majesty with mine own hand."

Nevertheless they proceeded in their exhortation, and offered to shew her the names of all the council, who had resolved, she should not have the private mass in her house. "She cared not," she said, "for the rehearsal of their names, for she knew they were all of one mind therein. And," added she, "rather than use any other service than that ordained during the life of my father, I will lay my head on a block; but," she continued, "I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a cause. And though his majesty, good sweet king, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible for him at present to be a judge of all things; for instance, if ships were to be sent to sea, I am sure you would not think him able to decide what were fit to be done, and much less can he, at his age, judge in questions of divinity. Howbeit, if my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none, no more can my poor ser-

voluntarily went to harass Mary into conformity with the very religion, for the profession of which he almost tore the tender frame of Anne Askew to pieces. Who will believe that this inconsistent persecutor had any real religion? He evidently had none, excepting a worldly idolatry for the will of the reigning sovereign.

vants; as to my priests, they know what they have to do, if they refuse to say mass for fear of imprisonment; they may act therein as they will, but none of your new service shall be said in any house of mine, and if any be said in it, I will not tarry in it an hour."

They then told her how the king had commanded her comptroller, Mr. Robert Rochester, to enforce his council's orders, and how ill and inefficiently he and his colleagues had done the errand, and of their flat disobedience when commanded to return with a second message.

As might be expected, this information gave the princess Mary extreme satisfaction: friendless and oppressed she might be, but it was evident she was still absolute mistress in her own domicile; and her servants preferred gainsaying a king and his council, to the task of contradicting her under her own roof. With true woman's wit she rejoined—

"It was not the wisest of all councils that sent her own servants to control her in her own house; for of all persons she was least likely to obey those who had been always used to obey her implicitly. As for their punishment, the lords must use them as they thought fit;"[1] "but if they refused to do your message," added she, "they were the honester men I wis."

Then the chancellor opened at length regarding the message of Charles V. in her behalf to the privy-council, to which she replied:—

"I have the emperor's letter in his own hand-writing, testifying that an actual promise was made by the council, that the mass should be permitted me, nor can

[1] They were kept in prison during the remainder of the reign of Edward VI. (at least, Mr. Walgrave's family annals [see Burke's Peerage] affirm that he was found in prison by Mary at her accession). Mary remembered the fidelity with which they suffered in her cause, and bountifully rewarded them for all they had endured. Mr. Walgrave is the direct ancestor of the present earl Waldegrave.

you marvel that I credit the emperor's writing more than your words; and though you esteem the emperor so little, yet should ye shew me more favour than ye do, even for my father's sake, who made the most of ye what ye be now, almost out of nothing." This observation must have been peculiarly cutting to those in her presence, since Henry VIII. had really raised them from the lowest rank of English gentry; and they were remarkable for no talent, excepting the art of skilful compliance with every persecuting whim of the sovereign that happened to be reigning, whether directed against protestants or catholics.

"As for the emperor," continued the princess, "were he dead, I would do just as I do now; notwithstanding, to be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used." After this, resumes lord chancellor Rich, she was told that the king had appointed a person to supply the place of her impracticable comptroller, Rochester, who was sent to prison for refusing to carry the messages of the council.

"I shall appoint mine own officers," quoth she, "for my years are sufficient for the purpose; and if ye leave your new comptroller within my gates, out of them I go forthwith, for we twain will not abide in the same house. And," added she, "I am sickly, yet will I not die willingly; but if I chance to die, I will protest openly that ye of the council be the cause of my death."

And having said this, she on her knees delivered a ring as a token to the king, saying, "that she would die his true subject and sister, and obey him in all things, except matters of religion; but this," she added, "will never be told his majesty." And having said this, she departed into her bedchamber.

Then the lord chancellor called the chaplains of her household before him, and commanded and threatened them if they said aught but the service contained in

the Common Prayer Book. The chaplains after *some take* promised to obey. When departing, the lord chancellor and his company went down into the court-yard, and waited a few minutes, while search was made for one of the chaplains, who had got out of the way of the exhortation; just then, the princess who, perhaps was willing to divert their attention, opened a little window close by them, and though they offered "to return to the house to hear what she had to say, she would needs," says my lord chancellor, "speak out of the window."

"I pray you," quoth she, "ask the lords of the council, that my comptroller (Rochester) may shortly return; for since his departing, I take the accounts myself, and lo, have I learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat! I wis, my father and mother never brought me up to brewing and baking! And to be plain with you, I am a-weary of mine office. If my lords will send mine officer home again, they shall do me a pleasure, otherwise if they will send him to prison; beshrew me, if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will! And I pray God to send you well in your souls, and in your bodies too, for some of you have but weak ones."

It cannot excite surprise that the deputation waited not to hear any more of this address, to which the princess certainly gave a comic turn, that few will expect from her. Thus she remained victor in the whole discussion, for it is not mentioned that the absentee chaplain was found; therefore, when the unwelcome visitors departed, this chaplain, doubtless, came out of his hiding-place, and performed the forbidden service as usual in the chapel.

These events took place just before the arrest and condemnation of the duke of Somerset to the scaffold; he had previously lost every shadow of power. Among other accusations, he was charged with having pro-

claimed to the people, "that the Dudley faction had sown strife between the king and the princess Mary." In the succeeding April,[1] the united attacks of the small-pox and measles left a blight on the constitution of the young king, which too truly prognosticated his early death. Projects in consequence began to be formed for excluding Mary from the throne. The long fits of illness which afflicted her gave probability to the reports the Dudley faction raised, representing her, according to the Italian of Pollino, "as a poor, miserable invalid, fit for nothing but to be shut up in her palace;" nevertheless, many of the principal lords of the kingdom were anxious for their daughters to serve her and be her companions, to whom she replied:—

"Do not marvel that I am obliged to decline receiving them, for my fortunes are such that I could neither benefit their prospects in life, or give them pleasure; and though you kindly offer them, I could not receive services without rewarding them."[2]

The visits of the princess Mary to her brother in the last year of his life had become few and far between, and when they took place, were conducted according to the solemnest etiquette. One of these visits took place in June, 1552. She previously spent some days in London at her palace of St. John's, Clerkenwell, from whence she rode with a goodly company of ladies and gentlemen, June 11th, to the Tower-wharf; there she took her barge, and was rowed to Greenwich Palace: her interview with the king was to take leave of him, previously to his progress to Guildford. The mad ambition of John Dudley, who had been lately created duke of Northumberland, destined the English crown for his

[1] April 2, 1552. "I fell sick of the small pox and measles. April 15. The parliament broke up, because *I* was sick and unable to go abroad. *I* signed some bills, and sent the lord chancellor &c. to dissolve them." Edward's Journal. Burnet, vol. ii., part 2, p. 45.

[2] Pollino, p. 75.

youngest son, lord Guildford Dudley, by means of marriage with one of the ladies of the blood-royal, descended from the protestant branch of Suffolk. At first, lady Margaret Clifford, (the grandchild of the sister of Henry VIII. by descent from her youngest daughter) was the mate chosen by the king for Northumberland's favourite boy.[1] Subsequently, the faction became more daring or more desperate, as the king's illness took the form of consumption, and Guildford Dudley was matched three degrees nearer the throne, with the fair and learned lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter of Frances, duchess of Suffolk, who was heiress to the sister of Henry VIII., and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

A few months before this union, the princess Mary received lady Jane Gray as her guest, at Newhall, during the progress the king made, alluded to above, in July 1552. An anecdote connected with this visit proves, that the religious rites of catholicism were, notwithstanding all opposition, still celebrated in Mary's domestic chapel. For lady Wharton, passing through the chapel at Newhall, in company with lady Jane Gray, at a time when service was not proceeding, curtseyed to the host, which was in its usual place on the altar.

Lady Jane asked, "if the lady Mary was present in the chapel?"

Lady Wharton said, "No."

"Why, then, do you curtsey?" asked lady Jane Gray.

"I curtsey to Him that made me," replied lady Wharton.

[1] The jealousy of Dudley was low enough to make the opinion of a female servant a matter of state discussion. A woman belonging to the unfortunate duchess of Somerset (then a wretched widow, unjustly detained in the Tower) was charged with having said, when this projected marriage was mentioned, "Have at the crown, by your leave!" and accompanied the words with a stout gesture. The anger of Dudley shews that this surmise was detection. It is all the memorial that such a match was ever intended. From MS. Harleian, edited by sir F. Madden, Privy Purse Expenses, p. cxiv.

"Nay," said lady Jane Gray; "but did not the baker make him?"

Lady Wharton[1] reported this dialogue to the princess Mary, who never after loved lady Jane as she had done before. The princess had previously presented lady Jane Gray with a rich dress, and her observations on the sinfulness of wearing it, mentioning Mary "as one who left God's word," probably found their way to the princess's ear, as well as into the narrative that recorded them.

It is possible that these incidents induced Edward VI. to nominate lady Jane Gray as his successor—a choice so replete with calamity to her.

The ensuing September was spent by the princess Mary at Hunsdon; and to this place, on the 8th of that month, the eloquent and zealous Ridley, then bishop of London, went from his seat of Hadham, close by, to pay her a pastoral visit. He was courteously entertained by sir Thomas Wharton, and the other officers of the princess, till about eleven o'clock, when she came forth into her presence-chamber. He saluted her grace, and said he was come to pay his duty to her. She received the bishop courteously, and conversed with him right pleasantly for a quarter of an hour. She told him "she remembered him when he was chaplain to her father; that she recollected a sermon he preached before the king, on occasion of the marriage of my lady Clinton[2] to sir Antony Browne." The princess then invited him

[1] Lady Wharton is called, in the usual indefinite versions of this anecdote, lady Anne Wharton, and is supposed to have been a young companion of lady Jane, the difference between Anne, lady Wharton, and lady Anne, not being in those days properly distinguished. She was, however, a lady of the princess's household, wife to sir Thomas Wharton, who, as one of Mary's officers, offered soon after the stirrup-cup to bishop Ridley. The dates and place are from Biographia Britannica. The second anecdote is recorded by Aylmer, James's tutor.

[2] This was the fair Geraldine. It proves the princess Mary was at her wedding. These incidents are from Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, and were drawn from Dr. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

to dinner. After dinner he told her he came to do his duty by her as her diocesan, and to preach before her next Sunday; she blushed when she answered, (for emotion, it has been before noticed, always brought a lively colour to her cheeks,) and bade him "make the answer to that himself." Upon which he became more urgent, and she answered—

"That the parish church would be open to him, if he had a mind to preach in it; but that neither she nor any of her household would be present."

He said—"he hoped she would not refuse to hear God's word."

She replied—"She did not know what they called God's word now, but she was sure it was not the same as in her father's time."

"God's word," replied Ridley, "was the same at all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other."

She answered—"He durst not have avowed his present faith in her father's lifetime;" and asked—"If he were of the council?"

He said he was not.

When he retired, she said "she thanked him for coming to see her, but not at all for his intention of preaching before her." Before he left Hunsdon, sir Thomas Wharton, steward of the household, according to the custom of the times, took him to the cellar[1] or to buttery-hatch, and presented him the usual stirrup-cup. After Ridley had taken it, he said—"He had done amiss, to drink under a roof where God's word was rejected; for he ought to have shaken the dust off his feet, for a testimony against the house, and departed instantly." With these words he went his way,

[1] This custom was in vogue in the middle ages, as a trait of old English hospitality; persons of the highest quality were taken into the cellar, to taste draught wine or ale fresh from the cask, as Cavendish says the duke of Buckingham did in Wolsey's cellar.

leaving all that heard him in the utmost consternation at his manner. Heylin, in his version of the story, affirms that "they declared their hair stood on end at his denunciations."

The sincerity of both these opponents was unquestionable: Mary, pure in life, and unswerving in principle, was ready to lay her head on the block, to testify her love for the faith in which she had been reared; Ridley was ardent in piety, and as poor, (though bishop of London,) as the apostles, to whom he compared himself—so bountiful was he in charitable distribution. In a milder age, such persons would have respected each other's virtues, and tolerated difference of belief; but the main spring of all the horrors of that dismal era was the fact, that if the word toleration was in use, it only served, on both sides, to nominate a crime; nor was it till after as much catholic blood had been shed by Elizabeth as would have fairly extinguished the hideous fires of the Marian persecution, that one glorious light of the church of England discovered the great Christian truth, that odious comparisons, bitter sarcasms, and other fruits of polemic argument, excite combative anger rather than feelings of Christian benevolence or veneration. It was holy George Herbert, the mild beams of whose tolerant faith were only diffused over *one* rural parish, who thus addressed his countrymen, just preparing, after a short breathing time, to rush into another religious civil war:—

> "Be calm in arguing, for fierceness makes
> Error a crime, and truth discourtesy;
> Why should I blame another man's mistakes
> More than his sickness or his poverty?
> In love I may—but anger is not love,
> Nor reason neither, therefore gently move."[1]

As the young king's health declined, the homage offered

[1] George Herbert's "Temple and other Poems," published in 1635. See his beautiful biography, written by a man of similar mind, Isaac Walton.

to the princess Mary increased; and when she paid one of her state visits to him at Westminster, on occasion of the new year of 1553, her cortège was crowded with the principal nobility. She retired, however, to her favourite seat of Newhall, where, in May, she received false intelligence that the king was better, and addressed to him, in consequence, the following letter of congratulation:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO EDWARD VI.[1]

"My duty most humbly presented to your majesty. It may please the same to be advertised, that as hearing of your highness's late rheum and cough was as much grief as ever was any worldly thing, even so the hope which I have conceived since I received your majesty's last token by my servant, hath not been a little to my comfort, praying Almighty God, according to my most bounden duty, to give your majesty perfect health and strength, with long continuance in prosperity to reign, beseeching your highness to pardon my bold and rude writing; and if in the same I do trouble your majesty at this present, (which I hope I do not,) that my humble duty and *nature*, (natural feeling,) which enforced me thereunto, may excuse my default. Thus most humbly taking my leave of your majesty, I do, and shall, daily pray for the prosperous preservation of your royal estate, as of all others I am most bound. From Beaulieu, (Newhall,) the 16th of May, scribbled with a rude hand. (No yearly date.)

"Your majesty's most humble sister,

"MARY."

This was the last communication that passed between the princess Mary and her dying brother: his real situation was sedulously concealed from both his sisters, who, in distrust of the prevalent court faction, kept at some distance from the metropolis. At the end of May, a splendid bridal festival was held at Durham House, Strand, while the king was extremely ill; his accomplished kinswoman, lady Jane Gray, was married to lord Guildford Dudley, and her sister, lady Katharine Gray, to the heir of the earl of Pembroke.

King Edward expired at Greenwich Palace, little more than a month afterwards, disinheriting, by an illegal will, not only the sister whose religion he hated, but

[1] Strype, vol. ii., part 2, p. 110.

his protestant sister Elizabeth, in order to bestow the crown on lady Jane Gray, who was younger than Elizabeth, under pretence that she was a married woman; thus virtually excluding women from the English succession, and making the boy Guildford Dudley the real sovereign. It is a point that will admit strong historical controversy, whether in this transaction Edward was Northumberland's dupe or his victim.[1] The dominant faction, by means of doubling the guards round the royal apartments, contrived to keep Edward's death a secret from the public for two days, for the purpose of inveigling the rightful heiress of the crown into their power. Accordingly the council wrote to Mary a deceitful letter, saying, "that her brother, who was very ill, prayed her to come to him, as he earnestly desired the comfort of her presence, and likewise wished her to see all well ordered about him." Mary, who had watched over his infancy, appears to have been melted by this appeal; she returned a tender message expressive of her pleasure, that he should have thought she could be of any comfort to him.[2] She set out immediately from Hunsdon, and got as far as Hoddesden, when a mysterious messenger met her, sent, some historians say, by the earl of Arundel, some by sir Nicholas Throckmorton: she learned, however, that her sisterly affection had been imposed on, that the king was dead, and that she was destined to imprisonment in the

[1] A contemporary, sir John Hayward, declares, that in his decline he suffered agonies of regret for the deaths of both his uncles, the Seymours. The unfeeling expressions in his egotistical journal by no means agree with this sensibility, and his personal evidence was murderous against both. All this might have been done under strong coercion. The MS. of the Throckmorton family confirms Hayward's assertions—viz., that the young king abhorred Northumberland, on account of his uncles' deaths; and as sir Nicholas Throckmorton was a close attendant on Edward's person, (the only one who was not Northumberland's spy,) the tradition he left deserves great attention.

[2] Heylin's Reformation, p. 154. Collier, on the same subject, quotes nearly the same words.

Tower.[1] The private memorials of the Throckmorton family describe how this was effected.

When king Edward expired, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was present at his death, came in great grief to Throckmorton House, in the City, where his three brothers were assembled, to whom he revealed the king's death, and the intended proclamation of Northumberland's daughter-in-law as queen. The brothers agreeing in a strong detestation of the house of Dudley, resolved that the princess Mary should be given timely warning, and therefore called into consultation her goldsmith, who undertook to carry the important message; he set out accordingly to meet her, and was undoubtedly the man who intercepted her at Hoddesden, and revealed the real state of affairs:[2] this information threw Mary into the greatest perplexity. She asked her goldsmith, "How he knew for a certainty that the king was dead?" He answered, "Sir Nicholas knew it verily." This authority was exceedingly mistrusted by Mary, for as sir Nicholas Throckmorton[3] had assumed the phraseology of the most violent Calvinists at the court of Edward VI., she could not believe that his intentions were friendly to her cause. She dreaded that a trap was laid to seduce her into an overt act of treason, by proclaiming herself the sovereign of England while her brother was living: after musing some time, she said to

[1] Burnet (vol. ii.) furnishes most of these particulars, especially the point of lady Jane Gray's eligibility for the crown, on account of being a married woman.

[2] Cole's MS., vol. xl., British Museum, fully confirms the fact that Mary's goldsmith gave her the warning, and the whole of the facts quoted above.

[3] In Jardine's State Trials, the above statement is corroborated by the affirmation that Mary received this timely warning through Throckmorton; and in Mr. Tytler's acute examination of all the windings of Cecil's duplicity, it appears, from a document at the State Paper Office, that Cecil adroitly shifted the proclamation of queen Jane on Throckmorton's back, saying, in his paper of apologies, "I refused to make the proclamation, and turned the labour on Mr. Throckmorton, whose conscience I saw was troubled therewith."

her informant, the goldsmith, "If Robert had been at Greenwich, I would have hazarded all things, and gaged my life on the leap."[1] She meant the elder brother of sir Nicholas, sir Robert Throckmorton, for whom she had always the greatest esteem.

She would not, however, despise the warning, though she did not fully confide in it, but diverged from the London road towards Suffolk with all her train. These events must have occurred on the afternoon of the 7th of July.

The fugitive heiress of England bent her flight in the direction of Cambridgeshire, as the nearest way to her seat of Kenninghall, through Bury St. Edmunds. As the soft shades of a July night fell round her hasty course, over those desolate plains which are intersected by the eastern road, (once so familiar to the pilgrims bound to the Lady shrine of Walsingham, and since as much traversed by the frequenters of Newmarket,) the ladies and cavaliers of her faithful retinue began to discuss the unexpected death of the young king. They were all catholics of the ancient ritual, and, of course, viewed the changes of the eventful times wholly according to their prejudices. They recalled with awe that the only heir male of the line of Henry VIII. had expired on the very anniversary of the lawless execution of sir Thomas More.[2] It was in vain that king Henry had overthrown all existing impediments, and set at nought the lives of thousands in his wilfulness; for his frantic desire of continuing his name and sceptre, by heirs male, was now as much blighted, as if the divorce of Katharine of Arragon, and the awful bloodshed which stained his latter years, had never taken place. Wearied

[1] Thus far is drawn from sir Charles Throckmorton's MS., the rest from Godwin, Martin, Hayward, Burnet, Holingshed, and, above all, Tytler's invaluable work from the State Paper Office.

[2] Heylin's Reformation, p. 154. The names of Mr. and Mrs. Bassett, the son-in-law and daughter of Margaret Roper, soon after occur in the list of queen Mary's household, and this incident makes it probable they were in her service at this trying crisis.

and worn, the whole party arrived at the gate of Sawston Hall, in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, and craved the hospitality of Mr. Huddleston, its owner. That gentleman, like his descendant, who watched the royal oak at Boscobel so well, was a zealous Roman Catholic. He knew, though she did not, how inimical his neighbours of the town of Cambridge were to the cause of the lineal heiress. Huddleston was, nevertheless, too true a gentleman to refuse shelter to the way-wearied princess and her harassed retinue, though there can be little doubt but that he must have foreseen the perilous consequences which threatened himself, and his Lares and Penates.

Mary lodged that night under the hospitable roof which was never more to shelter a human being. She was astir with her ladies and retinue before sunrise, but commenced not the arduous journey before her till she had offered up her devotions according to the rites of her religion.[1]

Very early in the morning she set out on her journey to Kenninghall; when she and her party gained the rise called the Gogmagog-hills, she drew her bridle-rein, and paused to look back on Sawston Hall. At that moment it burst into flames, for a party from Cambridge, adverse to her cause, had heard of her arrival, and had mustered early in the morning to attack the house that harboured her; if they had not amused themselves with plundering and burning Sawston Hall, they might have seized Mary, so close were they on her traces.

[1] See Fox's Martyrology, who mentions, in his biography of Dr. Edwin Sandys, that popish books, used in celebrating mass, when queen Mary lodged near Cambridge, at Mr. Huddleston's, during her flight into Suffolk, were captured at the destruction of the said person's house. In this passage does Fox fully confirm some of the leading facts of the above narrative, which is drawn from the local history of Sawston, and the traditions of the Huddleston family. Thus, from the narrative of the protestant martyrologist, and the history of an ancient catholic family, the movements of queen Mary, during the important forty-eight hours which occurred between the noon of July 7th and that of July 9th, when she dates from Kenninghall, are satisfactorily identified.

She gazed on the flaming pile undauntedly. "Let it blaze," she said, "I will build Huddleston a better."

She kept her word—the present Sawston Hall was built by her order, and at her expense.

Mary was received loyally at Bury St. Edmunds, yet she made no further stay there but for the noon refreshment. The news of the death of Edward VI. had not yet reached that town, and Mary's retinue accounted for their hurried journey by asserting that one of the household at Hunsdon had died suddenly, suspected of the plague; therefore the fear of communicating that disease prevented them from tarrying in populous neighbourhoods, and caused their retreat into the depths of the country.[1]

The same night Mary crossed the river, which separates Suffolk from its sister county, and arrived safely at her seat of Kenninghall, in Norfolk. There was little rest for her either in mind or body. By that time the news of the death of the king her brother was generally known, and it was necessary for her to take immediate steps to assert her title to the throne.

She instantly penned a temperate remonstrance to the privy council, mentioning her brother's death with feeling, and further declaring she was aware of their inimical projects; but she concluded with the offer of amnesty and favour, if they relinquished the same, and proclaimed her in London as their sovereign. This despatch was dated Kenninghall, July 9th.[2] The council proclaimed Lady Jane Gray queen, on the 10th of the same month. Their reply to Mary was peculiarly aggravating; they branded her in gross terms with illegitimacy, and advised her to submit to her sovereign lady, queen Jane. Mary immediately took prompt measures for maintaining her right; and certainly dis-

[1] Bishop Goodwin's Life of Mary.

[2] See document and answer, in Holingshed. Some historians say lady Jane was proclaimed on the 9th.

played in the course she pursued an admirable union of courage and prudence. She had neither money, soldiers, nor advisers; sir Thomas Wharton, the steward of her household,[1] and her ladies, were her only assistants in the first bold step she took; but had she been surrounded by the experienced veterans in arms and council that rallied round her sister Elizabeth at Tilbury, more sagacious measures could scarcely have been adopted; and had Elizabeth been the heroine of the enterprise instead of Mary, it would have been lauded to the skies as one of the grandest efforts of female courage and ability the world had ever known. And so it was; whether it be praised or not.

Sir Henry Jerningham and sir Henry Bedingfeld brought their Norfolk tenantry to her aid before she left Kenninghall, which she did on the representation that the country was too open, and the house not strong enough to stand a siege. She resolved to fix her head-quarters within an easy ride of the eastern coast, whence she could on emergency embark for the opposite shores of Holland, and seek the protection of her kinsman the emperor Charles V.

With this intention she left Kenninghall July 11th, and mounting on horseback, attended by her faithful knights and ladies, she never drew bridle till she reached the town of Framlingham, deep embosomed in the Suffolk woodlands, and situated about twenty miles from Kenninghall. The treble circle of moats which girdle the hill-side, town, and fortress of Framlingham, were then full and efficient, and the whole defences in complete repair. Mary arrived there after nightfall, at the head of a little cavalry force destined to form the nucleus of a mighty army. The picturesque train of knights in warlike harness, and their men-at-arms, guard-

[1] Bishop Goodwin's Life of Mary. White Kennet, vol. ii. p. 330.

ing equestrian maids of honour, with the heiress of the English crown at their head, wended their way by torchlight, up the woodland eminence on which the Saxon town of Framlingham is builded. Thus they passed the beautiful church, where the bones of the noble poet Surrey have since found rest,[1] and ascended the mighty causeway, over two deep moats, and paused, at length, beneath the embattled gateway, surmounted then, as now, by the arms of Howard.

Directly Mary stood within the magnificent area formed by the circling towers of Framlingham Castle, she felt herself a sovereign; she immediately defied her enemies by displaying her standard over the gate-tower, and assumed the title of queen regnant of England and Ireland.

[1] It has been a disputed point whether the body of Surrey was ever transferred from its ignoble place of sepulture in Aldgate church, where it was interred after his execution, since the vault of Framlingham church, beneath the tomb reared to his memory by his grandson, was found clean swept and empty. In a recent examination, however, the bones of a man were found enclosed in the tomb itself, directly beneath the fine portrait statue of Surrey, which reclines above the slab. The tomb is a large square structure, capable of containing several coffins.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER IV.

Queen Mary raises her standard at Framlingham—Her Suffolk partisans—Her residence at Framlingham Castle—Revolution in her favour—Her triumphant progress to London—Reception—Arrival at the Tower—Releases prisoners—Assists at her brother's requiem—Religious contests—Lady Jane Gray's letter to queen Mary—Queen's conduct to the princess Elizabeth—To the earl of Devonshire—Her engagement to Philip of Spain—Warned by cardinal Pole's friend against marriage—Bell named in her honour—Her wish to resign church supremacy—Letter of Charles V.—Queen rewards her friends—Restores the duke of Norfolk—Permits the earl of Sussex to wear two nightcaps—Queen's musical establishment—Interview with lady Shrewsbury—Preparations for coronation—Procession through the city—Coronation—Dialogue with the player Heywood—Queen opens Parliament—Remits taxes—Repeals her brother's religious laws—And her father's criminal laws—Her legitimacy confirmed—Lady Jane Gray tried and condemned—Queen suspends her sentence—Queen's dialogue with Gardiner—She pardons Dr. Sandys—Parliamentary objections to her marriage—Discontents regarding Elizabeth—Queen parts with her affectionately—Queen dissolves parliament—She sceptres her acts of parliament—Count Egmont arrives to negotiate the queen's marriage—Articles made public—Extensive rebellions in consequence—Wyatt's insurrection—He demands custody of the queen's person—She prepares to defend the metropolis.

THE royal standard of England had not floated many hours over the towers of Framlingham Castle before the chivalry of Suffolk mustered gallantly round queen Mary. Sir John Sulyard, the knight of Wetherden, was the first who arrived to her assistance, and to him

was given the honourable post of guarding her person.[1] The rest of sir Henry Bedingfeld's vassals[2] came in completely armed, to the amount of 140 men, and Mary appointed their zealous master knight-marshal of her hourly-increasing host. The young grandson of the imprisoned duke of Norfolk, Lord Thomas Howard,[3] then seventeen, appeared as one of the queen's defenders, and there is no question but that the adherents of his house crowded round the banner of the disinherited heir of the murdered Surrey. Meantime, Sir Henry Jerningham undertook a most dangerous commission at Yarmouth, the success of which finally turned the scale in Mary's favour.

One of the reasons that prompted Mary to raise her standard in Suffolk was the detestation in which the usurper Northumberland was held, on account of the tremendous cruelties he had perpetrated when Kett's rebellion, for the restoration of the ancient ritual, was crushed in blood in the eastern counties.[4]

Sir William Drury, knight of the shire for Suffolk, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, high sheriff, soon joined the queen's muster at Framlingham, likewise Sir John Shelton and Sir John Tyrrel, both very zealous catholics;

[1] Green's History of Framlingham, p. 77; likewise bishop Goodwin's History of Mary.

[2] He had possessions at Ridlington, near Framlingham, as well as in Norfolk.

[3] Lingard.

[4] To this fact Fox bears evidence, though it is in direct contradiction to his preceding words; for if the protestant interest were prevalent in Suffolk, why should the Dudley faction have been so abhorred for the suppression of this rebellion? Suffolk was then a catholic county, though the cruelties perpetrated in the latter part of Mary's reign, by the ferocious bishop of Norwich, who burnt a great many poor harmless persons, threw the scale of public opinion in favour of the protestant interest, and Suffolk has remained essentially a protestant county ever since. But oh, how hideous was the prevalent spirit of the age, when the great mass of the people, who are generally sincere, though not refined, in their religious feelings, shrank from one ritual to another, according as their abhorrence of the butcher or the burner prevailed!—How thankful may we be for our present religious government, since in those times the spirit of persecution reigned triumphantly over every creed.

according to Fox, they were afterwards bitter persecutors of the protestants. An extraordinary misapprehension exists that Mary's recognition as queen was chiefly enforced by the protestants of Suffolk, yet the leaders of her Framlingham force were not only catholics, but most of their descendants are so at this day. Her army soon amounted to 13,000 men, all voluntarily serving without pay, though the queen prudently directed that if any soldier seemed in need of aught, his captain was to supply his wants as if by way of gift, and charge the expense to her. In an incredibly short time a populous camp rose around the ancient walls of the castle, within whose mighty circle the queen herself sojourned.

Framlingham Castle was founded in the Saxon heptarchy by king Redwald, and remained a royal demesne till Henry I. granted it to Earl Bigod, to whom the present structure is attributed. Subsequently it was given by Edward I. to his second son, Thomas of Brotherton, and from him it descended to the Howards, the dukes of which race made it their principal residence. The site of the castle is a high mound, from which springs the source of the river Orr. This stream supplied the three moats, which are in the summer season gaily enamelled with golden irises. On the edge of the mound is reared a magnificent circle of walls and towers, enclosing an area of more than an acre. These walls remain to this day nearly entire; they are forty feet in height, and more than eight feet in thickness, and are studded with thirteen square towers. Within the area surrounded by these bulwarks once stood the baronial residence occupied by queen Mary; the fragments existing are small, yet the traces of the state apartments are, as it were, curiously mapped on the mighty walls which once sustained them. After crossing a walled causeway over the

double moat,[1] and passing through the gate-tower, the spectator enters the spacious area. To the right, nearly opposite, are seen several chimneys, whose summits are hollow pillars of wreathed brickwork, very elaborately wrought. The chimney of the state bedchamber, on the second floor, still remains; on one side of it is a recess about the size of a dressing room, with an arched window looking towards the east: this is declared by tradition to have been Mary's chamber, but it is evidently the oriel, or private oratory pertaining to her state chamber, which, of course, was the room to which the chimney belonged.

At the time Mary took refuge in the castle, everything was in the same order as when the old duke of Norfolk surrendered it into the hands of his ungrateful master, Henry VIII. When he found the Seymours[2] bent on the downfall of his house, he requested that the king would be pleased to bestow his possessions on the royal children, "because," as he said, "it was stately gear." At the same time, the experienced statesman calculated shrewdly on its restoration, a result he actually lived to see. Framlingham appears to have been retained in the hands of Edward VI.; but its governor, Thomas Sheming, evidently adhered to the ancient ritual, and was conse-

[1] For most of the topographical information relating to the spot, the author is indebted to the excellent History of Framlingham, by Mr. Green, who likewise courteously aided the writer in the examination of the castle, giving such valuable explanation of the scene as alone can be afforded by one who has carefully studied the localities.

[2] The Seymours had marked this noble property as their prey, and were much disappointed at its disposal. The disgusting rapacity with which the duke of Somerset, and his younger brother, Henry, divided the wearing apparel of the gallant Surrey, who was sacrificed to their faction, raises a feeling of loathing, stronger even than the other iniquities connected with his death. The shirts and stockings of the victim were not deemed beneath the consideration of these new nobles, as Surrey contemptuously called them. Certainly, whatever new nobles might do, no real gentlemen would have worn his old caps, doublets, and stockings, nor are there such instances to be found excepting in that age.

quently willing to surrender it to Mary, as queen. A catholic priest, named sir Rowland, still officiated in the private chapel, where a lamp perpetually burnt. The chapel was hung with tapestry, representing the life of Christ. The size of the gable of the chapel, and the form of its crockets, may be plainly traced on the wall, and likewise a few small windows belonging to a gallery leading from the state chamber, occupied by Mary, to the chapel. The tapestry which hung the state apartments, was transferred from Framlingham to Audley End, by lord Howard of Walden; and even in the succeeding century was so good and rich, that William III. sent it to one of his palaces in Holland,[1] where it is perhaps at this day.

The local traditions of Suffolk affirm that queen Mary came to Framlingham on the 10th or 11th of July, and remained there till the 31st, and many circumstances prove their correctness. None of her Kenninghall despatches and state papers are dated later than the 9th of July; and as she was certainly proclaimed queen at Norwich on the 12th of the same month,[2] she naturally retreated to a place of security before that hazardous step was taken. From the steeple of the church of Framlingham the sea-port of Aldborough may be seen. The castle stands at a much greater elevation, and its highest watch-tower, when entire, commanded a view of the German Ocean, and all that passed near the coast. Mary meant to retreat, in case of danger, by

[1] Green's Framlingham.

[2] See Speed, a contemporary. All local authorities declare that Mary was not proclaimed queen till she went to Framlingham Castle; but as she was indubitably proclaimed as such at Norwich, on the 12th of July, the author is convinced the 11th was the true date of her removal from Kenninghall, and not the 16th, as stated, on the excellent authority of Mr. Tytler. In fact, the struggle was nearly decided on the 19th, and there was not time for the events to have happened, between the 16th and the 19th, which settled Mary on the throne; or for the news to have reached London, and to have the effect there of causing her proclamation; therefore the author prefers her native topographical records.

the nearest road, to the sea; and to this day a lane, about a mile and a half from the castle, leading to the coast, is called "Bloody Queen Mary's Lane," because it is reported she used to walk there,—that is, like a prudent general, she surveyed the roads by which her retreat was to be made, if needed.

The crisis of extreme danger occurred about five days after Mary had retired to Framlingham, when six ships of war were seen to sail past the Suffolk coast, making for Yarmouth Roads. Now there were stout hearts and strong hands at Framlingham, but no other artillery or instruments of war, than those carried by the cavaliers at their belts or saddle-bows, while the infantry had to depend on push of pike or blow of axe or brown-bill. The ships were despatched by the privy council to carry cannon and warlike stores for the siege of Mary's castle, and likewise to intercept her if she attempted to retreat to the emperor's dominions. Sir Henry Jerningham was at Yarmouth, when the fleet, under pretence of stress of weather, came close to the harbour, and he boldly went out in a boat to hail them. "Upon which," says Speed, "these sea-soldiers demanded, 'what he wanted?' 'Your captains,' replied the intrepid knight, who are rebels to their lawful queen, Mary.' 'If they are,' replied the men of war, 'we will throw them into the sea, for we are her true subjects.' Upon which the captains surrendered themselves, and sir Henry and the Yarmouth burgesses took possession of the ships."

Another favourable incident to Mary's cause occurred simultaneously with the surrender of the fleet. She had, among her numerous letters written on the 9th of July, before she left Kenninghall, sent one[1] claiming the allegiance of sir Edward Hastings, who had been commissioned by the adverse party to raise four thousand

[1] This document, printed by Strype, in his Notes to bishop Goodwin's History, is dated July 9th.

men for queen Jane, in Middlesex and Buckinghamshire. Sir Edward was brother to the earl of Huntingdon, (who was closely allied by a marriage or contract with a daughter of Northumberland,) but they were at the same time, great-nephews to cardinal Pole, being grandsons to the murdered lord Montague, whose heiress had married the late earl of Huntingdon.[1] When sir Edward Hastings had raised the large force in the name of Jane he proclaimed Mary as his rightful queen, and thus placed at her disposal a great body of militia close to London. The defection of the fleet at Yarmouth could scarcely have reached lady Jane Gray's privy council, when this revolt, so near to them, struck terror through their hearts. The first indication of the good will of the metropolis towards Mary's right of succession was on the morning of the 16th of July, when a placard was found posted on Queenhithe Church, importing that she had been proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, in every town and city therein excepting London. The same day, the earl of Sussex and the earl of Bath seceded from the council, and took their way to Framlingham, at the head of their armed vassals.

The queen had, directly on her arrival, formed a privy council at Framlingham Castle, who were soon in active correspondence with the municipal authorities at Harwich, Thetford, Norwich, and Ipswich. So early as July 16th, Mr. Smith, the clerk of the Framlingham council, reported a despatch from Mr. Brande, "that sir Edward Hastings and 10,000 of the militia of Oxford, Bucks, Berkshire, and Middlesex, had mustered on July 15th, at Drayton, lord Paget's seat, with intention of marching to seize the palace of Westminster and all it contained, in behalf of the queen's right and title."

[1] See Mill's Catalogue of Honour, Burke, and every genealogical work.

The mayor and corporation of Thetford begged for aid from the queen's head quarters at Framlingham, but were answered by Mary's orders, "that the pride of the enemy they would see in short time abated, therefore they of Thetford will be out of all doubt of their conceived fear." The same day "all the ships in the harbour of Harwich declared for the queen, having deposed sir Richard Broke and other captains from their command." The queen commanded stores of ammunition to be instantly forwarded to Framlingham from these ships, and commissioned captain John Basing to resume the command of his vessel. "The day after, John Hughes, the comptroller of the customs at Yarmouth, and John Grice, captain of a ship of war called the Greyhound, submitted *themselfs* to the queen's mercy, and were sworn in her service." She ordered all the ordnance and shot from the Greyhound to be brought to Framlingham, that could be possibly spared from its own defence. The same day, she sent orders for certain chests, containing church plate and money, at Norwich, to be opened in presence of the mayor, and the treasure convoyed to her at Framlingham, by Austin Steward, at whose house the chests had remained; likewise she demanded a number of bakers to be sent from Norwich, and 300 quarters of malt were brewed at Orford. Three brass pieces of ordnance, which were at Aldborough ready mounted, the queen required to be sent from thence, on the 18th of July; on the same day, a proclamation of defiance to Northumberland was issued forth from Framlingham Castle, offering £1000 in land to any noble, £500 to any gentleman, and £100 to any yeoman who brought him in prisoner to the queen.[1]

Five hundred men were appointed to guard the queen within the walls of the fortress,[2] and no person, whether

[1] Privy Council Journal, at Framlingham Castle. Haynes, pp. 155—160.
[2] Journal, Privy Council. Haynes, p. 159.

coming to submit themselves or otherwise, were permitted to approach her without order from the council. She commanded all prisoners in the gaols in Suffolk and Norfolk to be freed, (a very doubtful policy in an unsettled time;) it is, however, pretty certain they had been crowded with persons, who had committed no other crime, than expressing themselves favourably to her title, while Edward VI. was declining. She had the temerity to order, as early as the 22nd of July, sir Edward Hastings to dismiss his militia, and come to her with lord Windsor. She seems to have had from the first an extraordinary dislike to standing armies; perhaps, they did not suit her rigid notions of state economy.

Northumberland, though at the head of an army at Cambridge, had employed himself rather in polemic than military warfare. He had requested Dr. Edwin Sandys,[1] the vice-chancellor of the university, and a very zealous protestant, to preach a sermon against Mary's title and her religion. Whilst the sermon was proceeding, a yeoman of the guard held up to public scorn a catholic missal and a grayle,[2] which had been captured the preceding night at Mr. Huddleston's house, where Mary had slept and heard mass, during her late rapid journey into Suffolk. The next day the news arrived of the revolution in London; and Northumberland, struck with terror, made a clumsy attempt to imitate his colleagues, by personally proclaiming queen Mary in Cambridge market-place, tossing up his cap, while the tears ran down his cheeks. Dr. Sandys, who stood by him, was a man of indomitable courage, mental and physical; he

[1] Afterwards made archbishop of York by Elizabeth.

[2] Fox's Martyrs, p. 763, book iii. The word *grayle* is an old English corruption of the word *graduale*, and means a liturgical book, containing those passages of the psalms and holy writ, sung between the chanting of the epistle and gospel. The desk at which the clerks were stationed, who chanted this part of the service, being raised by steps, it was called a *graduale*, and in process of time, the books from which the chants were sung were known by the same name.

could scarcely conceal his scorn when the duke said to him, "That queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that doubtless all would receive the benefit of her general pardon." Dr. Sandys bade him not flatter himself, for if the queen were ever so inclined to pardon, those who ruled her would destroy him, whoever else were spared. Then occurred a disgusting scene of treachery:—sir John Gates, one of Northumberland's most guilty agents, arrested his master when he was personally helpless, with his boots half on and half off. This was a true specimen of the dishonourable spirit of the era. In a few hours Northumberland was again set at liberty; at last, all this anarchy was settled by the entry into Cambridge of the earl of Arundel with a body of the queen's troops. He arrested Northumberland, Gates, and Dr. Sandys, and sent them to the Tower.

Several of Northumberland's party, after the arrest of their chief, hastened on to Framlingham, in order to excuse themselves to queen Mary, under the plea that they were but obeying the orders of the privy council. Among these visitors were the marquess of Northampton and lord Robert Dudley. Bishop Ridley likewise presented himself at Framlingham, but was evilly received, and sent back, Fox declares, "on a halting horse:" he was really arrested, and with Northampton sent to the Tower, from the queen's camp, on the 26th of July, on account of a sermon he had recently preached against her title, at St. Paul's Cross.

The camp broke up at Framlingham the last day of July, when queen Mary commenced her triumphant march to the metropolis, from whence her sister Elizabeth set out, the same day, to meet her, at the head of a numerous cavalcade of nobility and gentry, amounting to a thousand persons. Among these were, in all probability, the privy council, who, it appears, met their sovereign at Ingatestone. The queen's approach to her

capital was gradual, and in the manner of a peaceful royal progress, receiving the homage of her faithful or penitent subjects at her various resting-places on the road. She arrived the first day at Ipswich, where she gave audience to Cecil, who had been dispatched by the council with tidings, after the departure of Arundel and Paget; here he made such fluent excuses for all his turnings and tricks, and what he called "pardonable lies,"[1] that the queen told his sister-in-law, Mrs. Bacon, that "she really believed he was a very honest man." It is worthy of notice, that this learned and accomplished lady, who was a protestant of note, belonged to the queen's bedchamber then and afterwards, and had access to her in confidential conversation. The queen, however, still required further explanation of some of Cecil's double dealings in the late usurpation. She moved next day to her favourite seat of Newhall, where Cecil presented her with a list of excuses, lately given entire to the world,[2] which will remain an example of the shamelessness of a climbing statesman to all futurity. The queen next proceeded to the seat of sir William Petre, at Ingatestone, where the council, who had lately defied and denied her, were presented to her, for the purpose of kissing her hand. Cecil kissed the royal hand

[1] He had previously forsaken Somerset, his benefactor, in the hour of adversity. His intercessor with the queen was his sister-in-law, wife of Nicholas Bacon, mother of the celebrated lord Bacon, and daughter to sir John Cheke, the protestant tutor of Edward VI.: she was lady Cecil's sister.

[2] This account of Mary's progress on her accession is gleaned from this most curious paper, edited by Mr. Tytler, in his late invaluable work on the state papers of Edward VI. and Mary. It was written in the year 1573, at the request of Cecil, when he was prime minister to queen Elizabeth, and seems to be meant as the recollections of his secretary, Roger Alford, of those times, in which they were both agents; and if the memorial of Cecil's conduct appears so disgusting to the lovers of truth, thus compounded under his own eye, how would it have appeared if written by any one else? We have no concern with Cecil at present, excepting as he has interwoven himself with the progress of Mary, of which there is no other record; but those who wish to form a true estimate of him, must carefully peruse Mr. Tytler's second volume, first edition, pp. 169—447.

"before any other of the council men"—so far had his apology satisfied the queen, through the intercession of Mrs. Bacon—but his favour went no farther; and notwithstanding his sedulous compliances with catholicism, Mary never would listen to his ardent aspirations for office.

The queen arrived at her seat of Wanstead, on the 3rd of August, where she disbanded her army, excepting a body of horse[1]—a bold measure, considering all that had recently been transacted in the metropolis; nevertheless, it was only a proper observance of the ancient laws and privileges of London.

Lord Arundel had previously arrived at the Tower, on the 27th of July, with Northumberland, and the other prisoners brought from Cambridge; he received orders to arrest the duke of Suffolk and his unhappy daughter, lady Jane Gray, and lodge them in prison rooms in the Tower. Frances, duchess of Suffolk, directly her husband was taken from her, hastened to meet the queen, and throwing herself at her feet, she lifted up her voice piteously in lamentation; she told the queen "that Suffolk was very ill, and would die if shut up in the Tower."[2] Mary was softened by her plaints, and granted the liberation of her husband—a wonderful instance of mercy, as bishop Goodwin observes. Thus unharmed in body or estate, Suffolk paid the penalty of but three days' imprisonment for his conspiracy with Northumberland. No pleadings are recorded of the duchess Frances for her hapless daughter, lady Jane Gray, who might have been liberated on her parole with far less danger than her wrong-headed father. It was notorious that the duchess Frances was a very active agent in the evanescent regality of her daughter Jane; she had

[1] Goodwin. Martin's Chronicle.

[2] Holingshed. Goodwin, p. 333. The plea of illness is mentioned in the narrative of Baoardo, published at Venice, 1558.

urged her unfortunate marriage, and had carried her train as queen. She must, nevertheless, have fabricated some tale of coercion, since she was always treated with great distinction by her cousin, queen Mary, in the worst of times.[1]

The ladies who had accompanied the princess Elizabeth from London were introduced formally to queen Mary, at Wanstead, who kissed every one of them. Such is the tradition in a family whose ancestress attended that antique royal drawing-room.

The queen was, on the 3rd of August, escorted from Wanstead by great numbers of nobles and ladies, who came to grace her entrance into her capital. A foreigner who was an eye-witness, thus describes her appearance on this triumphant occasion:[2]—"Then came the ladies, married and single, in the midst of whom rode madame Mary, queen of England, mounted on a small white ambling nag, the housings of which were fringed with gold. The queen was dressed in violet velvet; she seemed about forty years of age, and was rather fresh-coloured."

The old city portal of Aldgate, at which the queen made her entrance into the metropolis, was hung with gay streamers from top to bottom; over the gateway was a stage with seats, on which were placed the charity children of the Spital, singing sweet choruses of welcome to the victorious queen; the street of Leadenhall, and all down to the Tower, through the Minories, was clean swept and spread with gravel, and was lined with all the crafts in London in their proper dresses, holding banners and streamers. The lord mayor, with the

[1] Fox complains that she took precedence of the princess Elizabeth at court.

[2] Perlin. Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i., p. 228. Mary was but thirty-seven.

mace, was ready to welcome her; and the earl of Arundel, with the sword of state. A thousand gentlemen, in velvet coats and richly embroidered cloaks, preceded queen Mary.

Next the queen rode her sister Elizabeth; then the duchess of Norfolk and the marchioness of Exeter followed, and other noble dames, according to their connexion with the crown, and precedence. The aldermen brought up the rear, and the city guard with bows and javelins. The guard which accompanied Mary, being 3000 horsemen, in uniforms of green and white, red and white, and blue and white, were dismissed by the queen with thanks, and all departed before she passed the city gate.[1] Mary acted according to the intrepidity of her character, in trusting her person wholly to the care of the civic guard; thus implicitly relying on the fidelity of a city, where a rival had reigned but a few hours before.

She bent her way direct to the Tower, then under the care of sir Thomas Cheyney, warden of the Cinque Ports. Here she meant to sojourn, according to the ancient custom of her predecessors, till the funeral of the late sovereign.

When Mary entered the precincts of the Tower, a touching sight presented itself to her. Kneeling on the green before St. Peter's church, were the state prisoners, male and female, catholic and protestant, who had been detained lawlessly in the fortress during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

There was Edward Courtenay, the heir to the earl of Devonshire, now in the pride of manly beauty, who had grown up a prisoner from his tenth year, without education; there was another early friend of the queen, the

[1] Strype, vol. iii., p. 27.

wretched duchess of Somerset; there was the aged duke of Norfolk, still under sentence of death; and the deprived bishops of Durham and Winchester, the mild Cuthbert Tunstal and the haughty Stephen Gardiner, which last addressed a congratulation and supplication to the queen in the name of all. Mary burst into tears as she recognised them, and extending her hands to them, she exclaimed, "Ye are my prisoners!"

She raised them one by one, kissed them, and gave them all their liberty. The bishops were instantly restored to their sees; Gardiner was sworn into the queen's privy council (according to the evidence of its journal) so early as the 5th of August. The duke of Norfolk and earl of Devonshire were immediately restored to their rank and estates. As the duke had never been attainted, he took his place with so little delay, that he sat as high steward at the trial of the duke of Northumberland. Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter, mother of Courtenay, was made lady of the bedchamber, with so high a degree of favour, that she shared the bed of her royal kinswoman. The duchess of Somerset was liberated and comforted by the preferment of her family—her son, an infant minor, being restored to his rights,[1] and her daughters, lady Jane, lady Margaret, and lady Mary Seymour (which last was one of the queen's numerous god-children), were appointed maids of honour. They were considered the most learned and accomplished ladies in Europe, excepting the queen herself, and her hapless rival in sovereignty, lady Jane Gray. The heirs

[1] Not to the dukedom of Somerset, for this was a royal title, to which Somerset had ambitiously helped himself. He had caused his fairest daughter, lady Jane Seymour, to be elaborately educated, in hopes of matching her with Edward VI. (which intention the young king greatly resented). She died unmarried; so did her sisters, lady Katharine and lady Margaret. Lady Mary, the queen's god-child, married sir Henry Peyton. After the fall of their father, these ladies had been cantoned on their relations, being allowed, from the wreck of Somerset's fortune, miserable annuities. Strype, vol. ii., p. 8.

of the three unfortunate gentlemen, who had suffered with the protector Somerset, were reinstated in their property; and as Somerset's adherents were zealous protestants, these actions of Mary, which indubitably sprang from her own free will, being at this juncture uncontrolled by council or husband, ought to be appreciated by those who are willing to test her character by facts.

The queen remained in privacy, sojourning at the royal apartments of the Tower till after the funeral of her brother, which was performed with great magnificence. Many historical controversies exist regarding the religious rites of that funeral; but it appears that Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony for his regretted young sovereign at Westminster Abbey, according to the ritual of the church of England. At the same time the queen and her ladies assisted at a solemn dirge and requiem for the repose of his soul in her private chapel in the Tower. This arrangement, in which each party shewed their respect for the memory of the deceased, according to their different modes of belief, was far too rational a method, to suit the furious spirits of that dreadful era, and the religious war recommenced in the Tower chapel. A chaplain of the court, one Walker, approached with the censer to cense the queen, when Dr. Weston thrust him on one side, exclaiming,

"Shamest thou not to do this office, being a priest having a wife? I tell thee the queen will not be censed by such as thou!"[1]

The queen, directly she arrived in London, published a pacific manifesto, exhorting each party to refrain from reviling by the epithets of idolater and heretic. Two proclamations of the kind had been published within a

[1] Strype, from Bale, vol. iii., p. 31.

short time. The first promised liberty of conscience unconditionally; in the last a clause was introduced, which declared religion was to be settled by "common consent," meaning by act of parliament. Mr. Dobbs presented a petition from the reformers of Ipswich, claiming protection for their religion on the faith of the queen's first proclamation; but Mr. Dobbs was set in the pillory for his pains—a strange way of answering a petitioner. That, and several other deeds of the kind, emanated from the violent zeal of the privy council, which governed in London in the queen's name.[1] The most nefarious of these actions was the imprisonment of Judge Hales, which brought great obloquy on Mary, though all she had to do with it was righting the wrong when it became known to her. Judge Hales had positively refused to have any concern in the disinheriting of Mary. He had boldly declared to Northumberland and his faction that it was against English law. With equal conscientiousness, he had, at the assizes held at the usual time in the last days of July, given a charge from the bench to the people of Kent, advising them to observe the laws made in King Edward's time, which were certainly in force while unrepealed. For thus doing his duty, he was committed to the Fleet prison by the officious privy council. Hales, despairing that justice would ever again visit his country, attempted his own life; but ineffectually. The queen's attention was drawn to Hales' unmerited sufferings; and she sent for him to the palace, "spoke many words of comfort to him," and ordered him to be set at liberty honour-

[1] Toone, the professed English chronologist, dates these outrages before the 3rd of August. They were transacted by the council in London, at a time when Mary had not received the homage of all the privy councillors. They seem the fruits of that officious zeal often assumed by persons desirous of wiping out the stains of their own recent misconduct. Neither the name of Hales nor Dobbs occurs in the journal of the council who were acting under the immediate directions of Mary.

ably.[1] He seemed composed and happy; but his mind had received an irremediable wound, for he destroyed himself soon after.

The violent party spirit that distinguished this council of interregnum, which governed the metropolis from Mary's proclamation to her arrival at the Tower, is extremely well portrayed by Mr. Edward Underhill, an accomplished Worcestershire gentleman, who, for his zeal in the Calvinistic religion, was called the Hot Gospeller.[2] He belonged to the band of gentlemen pensioners. He had penned a satirical ballad against "papists;" and for this squib was summoned before the council in authority, whilst the queen was in Suffolk. After much browbeating, Edward Underhill was committed to Newgate. He was an elegant lutanist, and was recommended by his friends to play much on the lute while in prison, and eschew polemics. He probably took this advice; and being withal a man of family, had no difficulty in obtaining access to the ear of the queen, since he was released from Newgate a few days after her arrival in London; and finally, she restored him not only to his place in the band of gentlemen pensioners, but, as he notices with great satisfaction, to his salary, without deduction of the time of his arrest. Mary shewed some judgment in acting thus; for this brave man, though he scorned to disavow his principles, was ever in time of danger an intrepid defender of her person.

[1] Martin's Chronicle, and Holingshed, though indefinite in dates, both expressly relate the queen's personal conduct, in rectifying the intolerable wrong done to judge Hales.

[2] Lady Jane Gray was preparing to stand godmother to his child (born in the Tower during her short sway), when her authority ceased. Strype has published rich fragments of Underhill's MS., the whole of which would be a most precious document, if recoverable. Underhill, in the reign of Elizabeth, offered the loan of it to Fox, for his Martyrology, but it was returned to him without any use being made of it. The Hot Gospeller, though ardently attached to his religion, admits the *pour et contre*, with a naïve simplicity and individualizing detail, delightful to the inquirer into facts, but by no means pleasant to a partisan historian.

Several instances are to be found of the queen's interference to save persons from the cruelty of her privy council. Those who were of rank or consequence sufficient to find access to her were tolerably sure of her protection. This peculiarity gave a tone to her reign which renders its character singular in English history; for examples of political vengeance were made chiefly on persons whose station seemed too lowly for objects of state punishment, because, being poor and obscure, they were not able to carry their complaints to the foot of the throne. Thus the council sent orders to the town of Bedford "for the punishment of a woman (after due examination of her qualities) by the cucking-stool, she having been arrested for railing and speaking unseemly words of the queen's majesty." These awards of personal punishment without regular trial, emanated from a certain junta of the privy council, whose business it was to sit in the Star chamber in Westminster Palace, and apportion the inflictions which seemed good in their eyes, as vengeance on personal affronts offered to the reigning monarch. Much of the extortions of the reign of Henry VII., and the bloodshed of that of Henry VIII., may be attributed to the operations of this illegal and inquisitorial tribunal.[1] But when it condescended to doom an old scold of a distant provincial town to the cucking-stool, it might have been thought that derision would have disarmed its terrors for ever. Such would have

[1] Yet its functions may be traced to an earlier day. It was certainly in activity in the reign of Henry VI., since Owen Tudor was evidently summoned before some such tribunal; then, again, the well-known incident of Edward IV. putting to death, illegally, the vintner, for the joke of saying "that he would make his son heir to the crown," ostensibly meaning the sign of his house, but with a side sneer at the recent coronation of the king: this exploit was in the true spirit of the Star chamber. The proceedings of Louis XI., on the other side of the Channel, with his two or three low-born privy councillors, and his pet executioner, seem to have offered an exaggerated example to the government of Edward IV. and Richard III., whose vice-constable, sir James Tyrrel, was the instrument of the murders and tortures devised in this secret conclave of the crown.

been the case, had the periodical press of the present day been in operation at the time. In the latter part of Mary's reign, when she was utterly incapacitated by mortal sufferings, from interference with their proceedings, her cruel ministers inflicted more tragic punishments on old women who "railed against the queen's majesty."

Mary remained at the Tower till after the 12th of August. This is apparent from the following minute from the privy council book:—

"The council delivered to the lord mayor and recorder these words, from the queen's own mouth,[1] yesterday, at the Tower, being the 12th of August, on occasion of a riot at St. Paul's Cross, about preaching:—'Albeit her grace's conscience is *staid* (fixed) in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously, not to compel and constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall (as she trusteth) put into their hearts a persuasion of the *truth that she is in*, through the opening of his word by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers; and she forbad the lord mayor to suffer, in any ward, open reading of the Scriptures in the churches, or preaching by the curates, unless licensed by her.'"

Such was the first blow aimed at the protestant church of England. Mary was empowered to inflict it, as head of the very church whose ministers she silenced by force of her supremacy. It is an instance of the manner in which that tremendous power worked, and explains the mystery why the great body of the English nation,—albeit, not composed of the most flexible of elements,—changed their ritual with magic celerity, according to the differing opinions of four successive sovereigns; but the truth was, in that evil century, each sovereign was empowered, unfettered by parliament or convocation, to change the entire ministration of the clergy throughout

[1] Privy Council Journal of queen Mary. Haynes's Burleigh Papers, p. 172.

the realm by the simple act of private will. Thus the religious tuition of the parish churches in London, the Sunday before the 12th of August, was according to the protestant church established by Edward VI., and the next Sunday according to the anti-papal catholic church of Henry VIII. While queen Mary continued head of the church in England, a reconciliation with the see of Rome was an impossibility.

The trial of Northumberland and his coadjutors took place August 18th. Eleven were condemned to die, but three only executed,—the smallest number ever known either before or since, of the partisans of a usurpation. Holingshed affirms there was great difficulty in inducing Mary to consent to the death of Northumberland, because of the former friendly intercourse, there had been between them, of which friendliness many instances may be proved from her privy-purse expenses when princess. Northumberland, with his two dependents, Gates and Palmer, were nevertheless put to death on the 22nd of August. Northumberland professed himself a catholic at his death, and spoke very earnestly against the protestant religion, which could receive no injury from lips false as his. An affecting incident occurred on the evening of his death. The Lancaster herald, who had been an old retainer of the duke, begged an audience of queen Mary, and, "respectful to the dead," implored her to grant him the head of his master, that it might be decently interred. The queen told him, "in God's name to take the whole body as well, and give his lord proper burial."[1] Mary was, at the time of his execu-

[1] Peerage of England, (published 1709,) vol. ii., p. 406. John Cock was the name of this faithful man. The same authority declares that Northumberland was buried at St. Peter's, in the Tower, by the side of his victim, the duke of Somerset. The conduct and character of Northumberland appear the more hideous when it is known that, if he possessed any private sense of religion, he leant to the ancient ritual; for his profession on the scaffold is only in unison with a profligate speech he made to sir Antony Browne, who was remonstrating with him on some incon-

tion, resident at Richmond Palace; here most of the acts of the privy council are dated during the rest of August and part of September.

The imperial ambassadors urged the queen to bring lady Jane Gray to trial at the same time with her father-in-law, Northumberland; since she could never reign in security while that lady lived, for the first faction when strong enough would set up her claims again. Mary replied, "she could not find it in her heart or conscience to put her unfortunate kinswoman to death, who had not been an accomplice of Northumberland, but merely an unresisting instrument in his hands. If there was any crime in being his daughter-in-law, even of that her cousin Jane was not guilty, for she had been legally contracted to another, and therefore her marriage with lord Guildford Dudley was not valid; as for the danger existing from her pretensions, it was but imaginary, and every requisite precaution should be taken before she was set at liberty."[1] These friendly intentions of Mary towards lady Jane coincide with a letter of explanation sent by that lady from the Tower, which contains an extraordinary narrative of her brief royalty.[2]

Lady Jane commenced this narrative with the declaration that she was willing to extenuate her fault, if such great faults may be extenuated, by a full and ingenuous confession; she described her consternation and confusion when her father and mother, her mother-in-law, the duchess of Northumberland, and the duke, announced to her the death of Edward VI.; and doing her homage

sistent measure, when he declared that, "He certainly thought best of the old religion; but seeing a new one begun, run dog, run devil, he would go forward." Peerage of England, vol. ii., p. 261.

[1] Renaud's Despatches, edited by Griffet. Renaud is by no means willing to praise Mary for conduct which must raise her in the estimation of every feeling heart, but rather is telling tales of her weakness and contradiction to politic advice; therefore the fact may be depended on without dread of heeding a mere flattering story.

[2] Pollino, Istoria del' Ecclesia d'Inghilterra, p. 73.

as queen, informed her, that by virtue of his will she was left heiress to the crown. She fell to the ground, and swooned, as one dead, overcome with grief at tidings she too truly felt to be fatally disastrous to her; and with tears and shuddering remained the passive victim of their ambition. She declared to her royal cousin, to whom her domestic griefs seem told almost familiarly, "that when she was brought to the Tower as queen, the marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer, brought her the crown,[1] to try on her head, to see how it would fit her, and that he brought it of his own accord, unsent for by her, or any one in her name; and when she scrupled to put it on, the marquess said, 'she need not do so, for he would have another made to crown her husband withal.'" To this exaltation of her husband Jane firmly objected, which drew on her scenes of coarse violence from him and his mother, the duchess of Northumberland. They appear to have used personal ill treatment to her, for she says, with indignant emphasis—"I was *maltreated* by my husband and his mother."

This curious narrative exists in the pages of three contemporary Italian writers, with slight variations, which prove they collected the same facts from different sources, all agreeing in essentials. One of our contemporary chroniclers relates an anecdote of the marquess of Winchester, the time-serving lord treasurer above named, who—with the shamelessness peculiar to the officials of that era—when preparing for the coronation of queen Mary, came to the unfortunate prisoner, lady Jane, and told her that several valuable jewels were missing from the state crown, and that she was accountable for them. On this pretence all the money and jewels of lady Jane and her husband were confiscated.

The accession of queen Mary had not altered her

[1] This appears to have been the state crown, kept, with other regalia, at the Tower, and not St. Edward's crown, then always given in charge of the dean and chapter of Westminster Abbey.

affection for the princess Elizabeth; whatever were their after jealousies, their first difference had yet to take place, for at the present time wherever Mary went, she led her sister by the hand,[1] and never dined in public without her. Mary likewise distinguished Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, with great attention; she endeavoured to form his manners, and appointed a nobleman to guide his conduct. He is said to have contracted habits of low profligacy at the Tower, which she was exceedingly desirous of seeing altered; but he was too late in life for any very rapid improvement, being turned of thirty. His noble person was not, however, deteriorated by the vices with which he is charged; for his portrait, by sir Antonio More, presents all the grand outline of our ancient royal race—the commanding Plantagenets. The expression of his face is penetrating and majestic, the features high and exquisitely moulded, the forehead lofty and noble, and decorated withal by a magnificent *chevelure* of light brown curls.[2] Courtenay inherited sufficient ambition to desire a marriage with the queen, and the English people ardently wished the match: it has been said that Mary loved him, and was refused by him—an assertion directly contrary to all existing documents. If she ever loved her cousin Courtenay, she must have relinquished him within a very few days of her accession, since in the middle of August she had a private interview with Commendone, the pope's envoy, in which she told him, "that she had concluded her league with the emperor, and had entirely resolved on her marriage with his heir, prince Philip."[3] Commendone had privately entered the kingdom from Flanders, and did not obtain his first audience without difficulty. Mary assured him of her inviolable attachment to the

[1] Fox. Memoir of Elizabeth. Mackintosh's History of England.
[2] An engraving from this portrait is to be seen in Horace Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.
[3] Tytler's Reign of Mary, vol. ii., pp. 238, 239.

religion in which she had been educated, and of her desire to restore the pope's supremacy in her kingdom; but she entreated him to act with caution, and to conceal his identity. She gave him a letter to pope Julius III., declaring her wish that her kingdom might be reconciled to Rome; and entreating that cardinal Pole might be instantly sent to her.

Public opinion had already named this attached kinsman as one of the three suitors for the hand of the queen; but if the pope was willing to dispense with the vows of a prince of the church, it was not probable that the rigid principles of either the queen, or Reginald Pole, would suffer them to accept such dispensation. The counsel Pole gave to Mary was, to remain single, counsel which was seconded by another of her friends of tried sincerity, his intimate associate, friar Peyto. This churchman was by birth a gentleman of Devonshire: his bold sermon at Greenwich, in defence of Mary's mother, had startled Henry VIII. in his pitch of pride. Peyto had survived Cromwell's proposal of putting him in a sack, and throwing him into the Thames; and, unaided by any power, save his calm contempt of life, had proved victor in the contest, and lived to be a cardinal. He had resided with Reginald Pole since he had retired from England, and tendered his advice to Mary with the same uncompromising integrity which had led him to thunder the principles of moral justice in the ears of her terrific father. "Do not marry," he wrote to the queen, "or you will be the slave of a young husband; besides, at your age, the chance of bringing heirs to the crown is doubtful, and, moreover, would be dangerous to your life." Unvarnished truths were these, yet it is a respectable point in Mary's character, that she testified no displeasure either to her kinsman or his plain-spoken friend, when counsel was offered so little soothing to female vanity.

Violent struggles took place throughout the month of August between the partisans of the rival rituals, for possession of churches and pulpits, which were frequently decided by the prevalence of personal strength. For the ostensible purpose of putting an end to scenes disgraceful to religion in general, the queen issued another proclamation, forbidding any person to preach without her licence, "till further order by common consent was taken;" meaning by act of parliament. Thus were all preachers silenced who promulgated doctrine contrary to the royal will.

One of the earliest compliments paid to the queen, on her accession, was the baptism of the great bell at Christ church (which had been re-cast), by the name of Mary. The learned Jewel, whose office it was to write the congratulatory letter from Oxford on the queen's accession, was reading it to Dr. Tresham, a zealous catholic, for his approbation, when the newly hung bell set out, in an earnest call to the first mass that had been celebrated in Oxford, since the establishment of the protestant church of England. Dr. Tresham broke into an ecstacy—"Oh sweet Mary!" he exclaimed, "how musically, how melodiously doth she sound!" "That bell then rung," adds Fuller, impressively, "the knell of gospel truth in the city of Oxford, afterwards filled with protestant tears."

However ample her power, as head of the English church, might be, it was the wish of queen Mary to resign it, and restore supremacy to the pope; but bishop Gardiner, her lord chancellor, was opposed to her intentions. So far from wishing any re-union of England with the see of Rome, he was extremely earnest that queen Mary should retain her title and authority as head of the English church.[1] Her answer to him was a remarkable one:—

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary. Despatches of Renaud, ambassador of Charles V.

"Women," she said, "I have read in Scripture, are forbidden to speak in the church. Is it then fitting that *your* church should have a dumb head?"[1]

The witty equivoque of queen Mary's reply may lead readers to an erroneous appreciation of this dignity as at present exercised by a queen regnant. But, indeed, defined and constitutional as it has been rendered since the revolution of 1688, it presents in our times, neither the difficulties nor the anomalies it did when Henry VIII. bequeathed[2] it, with the regal office, to his children. The power Henry assumed could be likened to nothing in history, excepting that with which the Mahometans invested the khaliffs of Bagdat. He prescribed articles of belief, he appointed bishops, and altered their temporalities at his pleasure,[3] he interpreted Scripture according to his exigencies. He actually sat in conclave with the bishops of his creed, and as visible head of the English church, examined and condemned to the flames those who dissented from his six articles, among others, the meek and faithful protestant, Lambert. Altogether he united with the crown of England a degree of spiritual despotism, which was the fruitful source of civil and religious warfare till the accession of the house of Brunswick.

Such was the practical exercise of the power queen Mary was eager to resign, and which the anti-papal catholics were equally desirous she should retain.

Thus at the accession of Mary, England was divided into three parties, each struggling to be recognised as

[1] Funeral Sermon of Mary, by bishop White. Likewise narrated in Dod's History of the Church, edited by the Rev. Mr. Tierney, who confirms the opposition of Gardiner to the re-union of England with the see of Rome.

[2] Literally, *bequeathed* them, for his parliament, in defiance of the constitution of England, had rendered all his dignities subject to his last will and testament.

[3] The bishops were, in the Anglo-Saxon church, elected by the chapters. They were confirmed in their temporalities by the reigning king of England.

the established church; all equally inimical to each other. These were, first in strength, the anti-papal catholic church, established by Henry VIII.; secondly, the protestant church of England, established by the regency of Edward VI.; and thirdly, the adherents of the ancient catholic church, who acknowledged no spiritual supremacy but that of the pope. Perhaps the latter were the weakest in numbers of the three; they had endured twenty years' severe persecution, yet were now strengthened by the regal dignity having fallen to one of their faith, who had shared in their sufferings. The principal calamities of queen Mary's life had been inflicted by the anti-papal catholics, who were at this era greatly superior in numbers and political power to either of the others. From their ranks had been drawn the vigorous ministry, that aided Henry VIII. in his long course of despotic cruelty, his rapacity, his bigamies, and his religious persecutions. The survivors of this junta, who were well versed in the art of government, by long usetude of wielding it, were now the ministers of queen Mary. It must have caused a bitter pang to her heart when she placed her government in the hands of those who, long before Cranmer emerged from private life, had been active agents in the divorce of her mother; but she had no other choice.

Cranmer had, during a large portion of his public life, officiated as the primate of Henry VIII.'s anti-papal catholic church. In the course of this primacy, he had made some abortive efforts to oppose in parliament, the penal enforcement of the six articles, which Henry VIII. and the majority of his bishops, had appointed as the English creed, and to which many faithful protestants fell victims.

Directly after the burial of his terrific master, Cranmer aided the protector Somerset in establishing a church of England, more practically humane, in which

protestant principles were, for the *first time*, recognised; and this is, in truth, the earliest period at which protestants can historically be deemed responsible for any action performed by an English government. Then commenced that hatred between the leaders of the anti-papal church of Henry VIII. and the leaders of the church of England, such as can only be engendered in the bosoms of those who, from late associates, have become political-polemic opponents. The protestant bishops inflicted on their enemies but the minor persecution of imprisonment, which lasted the chief part of Edward VI.'s reign. This was endured by Gardiner with philosophy, by Bonner with irritation, amounting to mania. The failure of the protestants in establishing the regality of the next protestant heir to the throne, lady Jane Gray, made the scale of political power preponderate once more in favour of the anti-papal catholics, whose leader, bishop Gardiner, changed a prison room in the Tower for the seat of lord chancellor, with astonishing celerity.[1] Till Gardiner received the seals, Cranmer was not only at liberty, but officiating in his high functions as archbishop of Canterbury. On the 27th of August, he, in obedience to an order from the queen's council, delivered a schedule of his effects, and received a command to confine himself to his house at Lambeth.[2]

In one opinion alone did all these antagonists agree—which was in the detestation of the queen's engagement with the prince of Spain. They were heartily joined in it by cardinal Pole, whose dislike to the Spanish match

[1] Bishop Goodwin, p. 333.

[2] Biographia Britannica. Much indignation had been excited among the protestants, by rumours that Cranmer was once more about to join the ranks of their enemies, (i. e. the anti-papal catholic church,) which induced him to publish an explanation of his present creed, which being construed into an attack on the government, he was by the queen's council sent to the Tower, on the 13th September, and was kept in captivity till his horrid martyrdom, three years afterwards.

was so well known to the emperor Charles, that he intercepted him in his journey to England, and detained him in a German convent till after the marriage had taken place.

One class in England alone was desirous of the match: these were the political economists, chiefly belonging to the moneyed and mercantile interests. They were alarmed at the marriage of Mary queen of Scotland with the heir of France, and earnestly wished the balance of power to be restored by the wedlock of Mary queen of England with the heir of the Low Countries.

Charles V. had resolved on this marriage, despite of his son's reluctance, who at twenty-six entreated that his father would give him a wife younger than himself, instead of one eleven years older.[1] But union with England was too favourable a step towards the emperor's scheme of universal dominion, to be given up for notions of mere domestic happiness; therefore he made a final tender of the hand of the unwilling Philip, in a letter written to queen Mary, on the 20th of September; in which he says—"that if his own age and health had rendered him a suitable spouse he should have had the greatest satisfaction in wedding her himself; but as he could not make such proposal, he had nothing more dear to offer to his beloved kinswoman than his son Don Philip."[2] When it is remembered that this great emperor had been formerly solemnly betrothed to Mary, and was now a widower, an apology for not marrying her himself was far from superfluous; yet it must be owned, that the style in which he proposes his son as his substitute, bears an amusing resemblance to the solemn gallantry of his illustrious subject, the knight of La Mancha. The emperor entreated that Mary would not, at present, communicate her engagement to her ministers. The reason of this request was, that some

[1] Strype's Mems. [2] Mackintosh's Hist. of England, vol. ii., p. 296.

among them wished her to marry his nephew, the archduke, whose possessions were not considered formidable to English liberty, and because he knew they were all opposed to prince Philip.

The queen, meantime, bestowed some attention on forming her household, and rewarding the personal friends who had remained faithful to her in her long adversity. She found the three gentlemen, who had incurred the displeasure of the council rather than gainsay her commands, captives in various prisons. It has been stated that they had been previously liberated by Edward VI., but the total absence of their names from the queen's proceedings, during her struggle for the throne, brings conviction that the above statement is true. Robert Rochester[1] she made comptroller of the royal household and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; she carried her gratitude so far as to make him knight of the Garter, and one of her privy council. His nephew, Edward Walgrave,[2] she honoured with knighthood, and gave the profitable office of master of the great wardrobe. Sir Francis Inglefield, their fellow-sufferer, was given a place at court, and was appointed a privy councillor.[3] The queen's gratitude took a very odd form in the case of the earl of Sussex: he was a valetudinarian, who had a great fear of uncovering his head; and considering that the colds he dreaded respected no person, he petitioned queen Mary for leave to wear his nightcap in her royal presence. The queen, in her abundant grace, not only gave him leave to wear one, but two nightcaps, if he pleased. His patent for this privilege is, perhaps, unique in royal annals:—

[1] He was son of sir John Rochester, of Tarling, Kent.

[2] He is the direct ancestor of the present earl Waldegrave. He was uncompromising in his adherence to the Roman-catholic religion, and died a prisoner in the Tower, early in the reign of Elizabeth. As his offence is not defined, he was probably a Star-chamber prisoner.

[3] After the death of his royal mistress he emigrated into Spain, on account of his religion. Aungier's Hist. of Sion.

"Know ye, that we do give to our well beloved and trusty cousin and councillor, Henry, earl of Sussex, viscount Fitzwater, and lord of Egremond and Burnell, licence and pardon to wear his cap, coif, or *nightcap*, or any two of them at his pleasure, as well in our presence as in the presence of any other person or persons within this our realm, or any other place in our dominions wheresoever, during his life; and these our letters shall be his sufficient warrant in his behalf."

The queen's seal, with the Garter about it, is affixed to this singular grant.

She reinstated the old duke of Norfolk in his rank, and restored the bulk of his immense possessions, confiscated by the crown without legal attainder. Indeed, as the offence given by the duke and his murdered son, was a mere quibble regarding heraldic bearings, such as an English sovereign, a century before, would have scorned to consider as a crime, the duke was restored on mere petition to the queen; in which he says, pathetically,—"Sovereign lady, the offence wherewith your said subject and supplicant was charged was only for bearing arms which he and his ancestors had heretofore of long continuance borne, as well as in the presence of the late king as in presence of divers of his noble progenitors, kings of England." The grandson of the injured noble, Thomas, heir to the earl of Surrey, was distinguished by queen Mary with great favour, and received the appointment of her page of honour, a post his youth and beauty well qualified him to fill."[1]

The queen now indulged the musical taste for which she was so noted, and which the extraordinary manifestation of melody in her forehead proves to have been a ruling passion. She established the musicians of her chapel royal with more than usual care; the names of our best English composers are to be found among them.

His portrait-statue at Framlingham church, kneeling at the feet of his father's recumbent statue, proves him to have closely resembled his relative, queen Anne Boleyn. His dark eyes and dark curls, and the beautiful outline of his face, rendered him more like her than was her daughter.

A letter extant from Grace lady Shrewsbury,[1] to her husband, (who was absent, guarding against an inbreak from the Scotch border,) gives some insight regarding the manners of Mary in the early days of her sovereignty, and describes her as in high enjoyment of her taste for sacred music.

September, 1553. — "Yesternight the queen's majesty came from evensong, which was sung in her chapel by all her singing men of the same, with playing of organs, in the solemnest manner. Her highness called me unto her, and asked me, 'when you rode to the north?' And when I told her grace that you were there, she held up her hands, and besought God to send you good health, and that she might soon see you again. I perceive her grace to be a little doubtful of the quietness of the northern counties. Her highness was so much my good lady, that she told me that whatsoever I wished I should come to her for, since she would be my husband till your lordship came home."

The whole attention of queen Mary and her court was now fixed on the approaching coronation. Deep were the cogitations of heralds and royal chamberlains; they were at a loss regarding precedents, since neither Saxons nor Normans had owned a sovereign regina. Britain had been occasionally governed by female monarchs, and the venerable common law of the land not only recognised their right of succession, but the law itself is traced to a female reign.[2] Yet these fair civilizers had existed in an antiquity so dim, that no clear ideas could remain of their coronations, nor was it very certain that they were crowned. The Norman nobility and their descendants, through evident distaste to female authority, had

[1] Wife to Francis, earl of Shrewsbury. Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i., p. 228.

[2] See Introduction to Lives of the Queens, regarding the Martian laws established by a female regent, from which Alfred's laws were derived.

refused to recognise their rightful reginas, Matilda the empress, Eleanora of Brittany, and Elizabeth of York, as sovereign ladies. The effects of ferocity, which interminable wars had rendered national, had destroyed the promising heirs male from every branch of the great stem of Plantagenet; and it was now matter of curiosity to note, how completely the throne was surrounded by female claimants. If the life of queen Mary failed, nature and an act of parliament made her sister Elizabeth her successor, on whose failure the young queen of Scotland had undoubted rights to unite the island crowns,—for the sceptre of North, as well as that of South Britain, was then swayed by a queen Mary. If the young queen of Scotland died without heirs, then a procession of female claimants, long as that of Banquo's kings, appeared. There was lady Margaret Douglas, who had, however, two infant sons, but neither she nor her offspring had ever been recognised as claimants. Then Frances duchess of Suffolk, and her daughters, lady Jane Gray, lady Katharine Gray, and their younger sister, the deformed lady Mary; then the sister of Frances Brandon, Elinor lady Clifford, and her two daughters, were the representatives of the royal line. Thus our combative forefathers, if they meant to preserve the succession in the royal family, had no alternative but to submit to the domination of a female: this they did with the worst grace in the world; and if they did not term their sovereign, as the Hungarians did theirs, "King Mary," they insisted on her being encumbered with spurs and girded with swords, and other implements of the destructiveness in which their minds delighted. For the result of all the cogitations on her coronation was, that their regina was to be inaugurated in "all particulars like unto the king of England." There was, however, one thing needed, without which a coronation, like most other pomps, must remain a dead

letter—there was not one penny in the royal purse, and queen Mary was forced to borrow £20,000 from her loyal London citizens before she could be crowned. When this supply was obtained, the coronation "was all the care,"[1] and was finally appointed for the 1st of October: previous to that day the queen was to pass in grand procession through the city, which it was the citizens' province, by old custom, to adorn for the occasion. Three days before the coronation the queen removed from St. James's to Whitehall, and took her barge at the stairs, accompanied by her sister, the princess Elizabeth, and other ladies, and proceeded to the Tower: this was by no means a private transit, but attended with all the gaiety of a city procession by water, the lord mayor and companies meeting her in their barges with streamers, trumpets, waits, shawlms, and regals. At the Tower, the queen was received with discharges of ordnance, which continued some time after her entry. The next day, September 29th, she made fifteen knights of the Bath, who did not receive the accolade from her royal hand; they were knighted in her presence by her lord steward, Henry, earl of Arundel.[2] The most noted among these knights were her cousin Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, and the young earl of Surrey. About three o'clock next day, the queen set forth from the Tower in grand procession through the streets of the city of London, a ceremony which custom imperatively required the sovereign to perform, as a prologue to the coronation; it has now been commuted for a royal dinner at Guildhall, which, it may be observed, always precedes the coronation.

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. iii.

[2] Mr. Planche's erudite Regal Records is the chief authority for this coronation. He has there edited the particulars from official MSS., never before printed, in the College of Arms, and the Society of Antiquarians. Some particulars of this ceremony are drawn from the Italian, being narrated in Baoardo's History of Mary—that Venetian had obtained minute information, though his work was printed in 1558.

Queen Mary's city procession was splendid; she was remarkable for the great number of her own sex who ever surrounded her. It must be owned some personal courage was required to be lady of honour to queen Mary, for in the dangerous struggles for the crown she was always accompanied by her female attendants. This was, however, one of her halcyon days, and the procession was distinguished by seventy ladies riding after the queen on horseback, clad in crimson velvet. Five hundred gentlemen, noblemen, and ambassadors, preceded her, the lowest in degree leading the way. Each of the ambassadors was accompanied by a great officer of the crown; the French ambassador, Noailles, by lord Paget, and Renaud, the emperor's resident (who took precedence of Noailles), by lord Cobham. The chief sewer, the earl of Sussex, bore the queen's hat and cloak between two squires of honour, with robes of estate rolled and worn baldrick-wise over the shoulder and round the waist, wearing the caps of estate of the dukedoms of Normandy and Guienne. The lord mayor, on the left of Garter king-at-arms, carried the sceptre.

The queen headed the lady procession, seated in a most splendid litter, supported between six white horses, covered with housings of cloth of silver. She was dressed in a gown of blue velvet, furred with ermine; on her head was a caul of gold network, beset with pearls and precious stones; the value thereof was inestimable, and the weight so great, says Stow, "that she was fain to bear up her head with her hand." It was evident that she was afflicted with one of her constitutional headaches, which generally attacked her if unusually agitated, and the pain was not ameliorated by the weight of her inestimable circlet. Elizabeth followed, in an open chariot richly covered with crimson velvet, and by her was seated Henry VIII.'s surviving widow,

Anne of Cleves: they were dressed in robes and kirtles of cloth of silver, with large hanging sleeves. This car was followed by sir Edward Hastings, (who, in reward for his services, had been made master of the horse,) leading queen Mary's own palfrey. To him succeeded a long train of alternate chariots and equestrian damsels; the ladies of the highest rank rode four together in chariots. The ladies of the bedchamber, and those who held office at court, rode on horseback, dressed in kirtles of gold or silver cloth and robes of crimson velvet, their horses trapped with the same. Among the ten ladies who bore office in the palace, the names of the queen's confidante, Mrs. Clarencieux, and Mary Finch, keeper of the jewels, appear; they were her old and faithful servants. Then rode the queen's chamberers, in crimson satin, their horses decked with the like; they were nine in number, and were guarded by Mrs. Baynham, the mother of the maids. Some of these ladies were married women; among them might be recognised the virtuous and learned daughters of sir John Cheke, one of whom was the wife of Nicholas Bacon, and sister to lady Cecil. Mrs. Bacon's intercessions with queen Mary in behalf of Cecil prove she had some influence. Among the other distinguished ladies who attended this coronation, was Mrs. Basset,[1] daughter of the illustrious Margaret Roper, and grand-daughter of sir Thomas More. The royal henchmen, clad in the Tudor colours of white and green, the royal guard and their captain, sir Henry Jerningham, and the gentlemen-at-arms, brought up the procession.

Pageantry, in the old accustomed style, greeted the queen in her progress through the city; in Fenchurch-street she listened to orations from four great giants; in

[1] See Planche's Regal Records, where her name appears in the list of chamberers, and Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, p. 150, vol. ii., for the fact that this lady and her husband were both in Mary's service. Mrs. Basset translated Eusebius from the Greek into the English.

Gracechurch-street, to a solo on the trumpet, from a great angel in green, perched on a triumphal arch prepared by the Florentine merchants; and when this angel lifted its gigantic arm with the trumpet to its mouth, the mob gave a shout of astonishment. The conduits at Cornhill and Cheapside ran with wine; and at the latter, the aldermen presented the queen with a benevolence of 1000 marks in a crimson purse. At St. Paul's School, the queen's favourite poet and player, Heywood, sat under a vine, and delivered an oration. By the time the procession, which had started at three from the Tower, had proceeded as far as St. Paul's, the shades of an autumn evening must have been closing around, and the violence of the wind somewhat injured a sight which had been only seen once before exhibited in London; this was the gymnastics of Peter the Dutchman on the weathercock of Old St. Paul's. The ball and cross of the cathedral were decorated with flags, and meant to be illuminated, but the wind blew out the torches as fast as they were lighted. It does not appear that Peter flew down on a rope, as he did at the coronation of Edward VI., but played many antics at that fearful height, for which he was paid 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the lord mayor.

The queen was escorted by the lord mayor through Temple-bar to the palace of Whitehall, where she took leave of him, "giving him great thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost."

The seat of English royalty had been transferred from the ancient palace of Westminster to Whitehall, after a great fire in the royal apartments in the time of Henry VIII. It was a grand structure, now existing only in name; its water-gate, still bearing the name of Whitehall-stairs, marks its locality. St. James's Palace was chosen by queen Mary as her private residence; but Whitehall was the scene of all grand state ceremonies and receptions, as St. James's is at present—the mo-

narchs of England having been gradually burnt out of every palace built on a scale suitable to their dignity.

On the coronation morning, October 1st, the queen and her train took their barges, and landed at the private stairs of the old palace of Westminster leading direct to the parliament chamber, which was richly hung with tapestry, and the queen was conducted to the royal privy chamber, where she was robed, and reposed with her ladies till the hour of the procession. Blue cloth was laid from the marble chair in Westminster Hall to the pulpit in Westminster Abbey, and to the stage royal from the choir to the high altar, which was covered with cloth of gold. The choir of Westminster Abbey was hung with rich arras, and well strewn with rushes; a raised boarded pathway for the procession led to the royal stage, which was surmounted by a platform of seven steps, covered with the striped cloth of gold called baudikins, and on them the royal chair was set, covered with the same gold cloth; the chair having pillars at the back, with a turreted canopy, and two lions of gold.

The procession began from Westminster Hall to the Abbey before eleven o'clock. The queen's royal majesty, dressed in her crimson parliament robes, walked under the usual canopy, borne by the barons of the Cinque Ports. She was supported by the bishop of Durham, on her right hand, and the earl of Shrewsbury, on the left. The ungraceful custom of the royal train being borne by a crowd of ladies is a modern innovation; the train of the first queen regnant was borne by the duchess of Norfolk, attended by Sir John Gage, the vice-chamberlain. Directly after the queen walked the princess Elizabeth, the lady Anne of Cleves following her, as expressly declared by Noailles; and here it deserves notice that the queen's sister, in every part of these important ceremonies, received all the honours, and took all precedence due to her rank. Moreover, it has been very seldom, that either heir or heiress presumptive

to the throne occupied a place in a coronation, of such distinction.

The queen was met in Westminster Hall by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and ten other bishops, with their mitres, and crosses, and copes of gold cloth, and the officers of the queen's chapel singing. The bishops censed her and sprinkled holy water, and then fell into their places in the procession. That day, Gardiner performed all the offices of the coronation usually pertaining to the archbishop of Canterbury,[1] who was unhappily, as well as the archbishop of York, in prison. It may be noted, that the times have ever proved most disastrous for England when any convulsions of church or state have prevented an archbishop of Canterbury from officiating at a coronation.

Before eleven o'clock, the queen was conducted by her two supporters to St. Edward's chair, prepared on the royal stage; and having reposed for a while, was then led by them to the four sides of the stage, in the view of the whole assembly, where the bishop of Winchester, standing by her side, declared to the people her free election in the following words, which were fuller and more comprehensive than any similar address:—

"Sirs,—Here present is Mary, rightful and undoubted inheritrix, by the laws of God and man, to the crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, France, and Ireland; and you shall understand that this day is appointed, by all the peers of this land, for the consecration, unction, and coronation of the said most excellent princess Mary. Will you serve at this time, and give your wills and assent to the same consecration, unction, and coronation?" Whereunto the people answered all in one voice, "Yea, yea, yea! God save queen Mary!"

The queen was then conducted to a rich chair by the

[1] His prison was not guarded on the coronation day, and Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, could have left the Tower with the utmost impunity, if they had chosen to escape. See Memoir of Dr. Edwin Sandys, Fox's Martyrology.

gentlemen ushers before the high altar, and made her offerings. A cushion of velvet was put before the altar, on which she laid prostrate while certain oraisons were said over her. The sermon followed, preached by the bishop of Chichester, who was esteemed a most florid preacher; the subject being the obedience due to kings. Gardiner then declared the coronation oaths; and the queen being led to the high altar, promised and swore upon the host to observe and keep them. Again the queen prostrated herself before the high altar, and remained in this attitude while the bishop, kneeling, sung the hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost, commencing, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the choir and organ joining in the strain. After the Litany, the queen was led to her traverse on the left hand of the altar, and "there unarrayed and unclothed" by her ladies of the privy chamber. This preparation seems to have consisted of the removal of her royal mantle, and she returned in a corset of purple velvet. After her unction by the bishop of Winchester, Mrs. Walgrave laced up the apertures left on the shoulders of the corset, where she was anointed, and put her on a pair of linen gloves. The queen then retired to her traverse, and returned in a robe of white taffeta and a mantle of purple velvet furred with ermine. She offered up the sword she was *girt* withal, by the bishop of Winchester, and lord Arundel, who had borne it, redeemed it for a sum of money.

The duke of Norfolk, after she was seated in the altar chair, brought her three crowns; these were, St. Edward's crown, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and a third very rich crown, made purposely for her.[1] These crowns were set, one after the other, on her head by the bishop of Winchester, and betwixt putting on every one the trumpets did blow.

[1] It is difficult to surmise for what purpose the third crown was introduced, without it was to indicate the kingdom of Ireland, as the kings of England had, previously to Henry VIII., only assumed the title of lords of Ireland, that is, suzerain over the petty kings of that island.

During the singing of *Te Deum*, a ring was put on the queen's marrying finger by the bishop; then the various great officers who had carried the remaining regalia brought them to her: the bracelets of gold and precious stones by the master of the jewel house; the sceptre, by the earl of Arundel; St. Edward's staff, by the earl of Bath; the spurs, by the earl of Pembroke; the orb, by the marquis of Winchester; and the *regal* of gold by the bishop of Winchester. And the queen sat apparelled in her royal robes of velvet, a mantle with a train, a surcoat with a kirtle furred with wombs of miniver pure, a riband of Venice gold, a mantle-lace (cordon) of silk and gold, with buttons and tassels of the same, having the crown imperial on her head, her sceptre in her right hand, and the orb in her left, and a pair of sabatons on her feet, covered with crimson cloth of gold, garnished with riband of Venice gold, delivered to her by her master of the great wardrobe. Thus royally invested, she was brought to St. Edward's chair; and when seated, the bishop of Winchester kneeled down before her, and made his homage for himself and all the bishops:—

"I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth bear to you, our sovereign lady and queen, and to your heirs, kings and queens of England, France, and Ireland; and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you as in the right of your church, as God shall help me and all saints." And then kissed every one of the bishops the queen's left cheek.

Then kneeled down the greatest temporal prince, the duke of Norfolk, and made his homage:—

"I become your liege man of life, and limb, and of all earthly worship and faith, and all truly shall bear unto you, to live and die with you against all manner of folk. God so help me and all hallows!"

Then he kissed the queen's left cheek. And the premier noble of every class, the marquis of Winchester, for himself; the earl of Arundel, for the earls; the viscount Hereford, and Lord Burgaveny,[1] for the barons,

[1] Abergavenny.

repeated the same homage for their fellows: who all kneeling, held up their hands meantime in manner of *lamenting* (supplication), and the queen's highness held their hands thus between hers, while they by turns kissed her left cheek; and when they had ascended (i. e. the steps of the throne) to that homage, they all with a loud voice together cried, "God save queen Mary!" Her whole house of lords then consisted of less than fifty individuals.[1]

The general pardon published at this coronation contained so many exceptions that it seemed more like a general accusation, and bore melancholy evidence to the convulsive state of the times. Bishop Gardiner commenced the office of the mass; and after the gospel was read, he sent the book to the queen, who kissed it. She came down from the throne to make the regal offering, an *oble* of bread laid upon the paten or cover of St. Edward's chalice, a cruet of wine, and a pound of gold. The fact of the queen's receiving the eucharist is not mentioned; but it is recorded, "that she bowed her head and the bishop said a prayer over her, and her grace was conveyed again to her seat royal, where she sat till *Agnus Dei;* then the pax was brought her to kiss by a bishop. Afterwards, being conducted, the bishop of Winchester took the crown from her head, and offered it. The other regalia was likewise offered on the altar, and received by the dean of Westminster. The queen was then unclad of her robes, and other royal apparel given her by her great chamberlain. Her dress, when she returned from the Abbey, was a robe of purple velvet, an open surcoat of the same, a mantle and train furred with miniver and powdered ermine, a mantle-lace of silk and gold, a riband of Venice gold, a crown set on her head, a rich canopy was borne over her head by the barons of the Cinque Ports; and so was conveyed in goodly order to Westminster Hall with all her train to dinner.

[1] See the list of those summoned, Parliamentary History, vol. iii.

The ceremony of the banquet was in all particulars the same as at the coronations of previous monarchs. To the grandson of the aged duke of Norfolk was deputed the duty of earl marshal; but the duke made the usual entry into the hall, ushering the first course, on horseback, accompanied by the earl of Derby, high steward of England.[1]

The queen recognised her sister in all respects as the next to herself in rank; for she sat at the royal table at her left hand. Anne of Cleves sat next to Elizabeth; both had their especial service. These "virgin princes," as Speed quaintly calls Mary and Elizabeth, were chaperoned by their father's surviving widow, whom they both treated with dutiful respect. The ambassadors of Cleves attended the coronation, notwithstanding the change of religion; they were part of that great mercantile alliance, in which the English and Flemish merchants were so closely knit.

The champion of England was Sir Edward Dymoke, whose portrait, preserved in the College of Arms, in the act of throwing down his gauntlet, gives, indeed, the beau-ideal of a knight worthy to do battle in vindication of the claims of his sovereign lady.[2] He pronounced his challenge, *viva voce*, right gallantly—the first in behalf of a queen regnant:—

"If there be any manner of man, of whatever estate, degree, or condition soever he be, that will say and maintain that our sovereign lady,

[1] Strype. The earl of Arundel was lord steward of the queen's household.

[2] See a spirited woodcut in Planche's Regal Records. Sir E. Dymock wrote a disdainful letter, Nov. 23, 1553, (Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i.,) reproaching sir William Cecil with making him sue out a warrant from the queen for his perquisites. "At the coronation of king Edward," he says, "I had all such delivered to me by your father, (Richard Cecil, groom and yeoman of the wardrobe,) without warrant. I had my cup of gold without warrant; I had my horse without warrant; and all my trappings of crimson satin without warrant; and by the old precedents of my claim, I ought to have them now. It is the queen's pleasure that I should have all things pertaining to my office, and so she willed me to declare to my lord treasurer, and rather than I would be driven to sue a warrant for such small things, I would lose them."

queen Mary the First, this day here present, is not the rightful and undoubted inheritrix to the imperial crown of this realm of England, and that of right she ought not to be crowned queen, *I* say he lieth like a false traitor, and that *I* am ready the same to maintain with him while *I* have breath in my body, either now at this time or any other whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to appoint, and therefore *I* cast him my gage."

And then he cast his gauntlet from him, "the which no man would take up." Yet if ever there was danger of a champion being called upon to prove his words, it was at the coronation of Mary the First. The gauntlet having laid the usual time, a herald took it up and presented it to sir Edward, who made the same challenge in three several places in the hall. The queen drank to the champion, and sent him the gold cup.

Then followed the proclamation of Garter king at arms, which in this reign is by no means a dead formula, but vital with historical interest, since it proves that Mary challenged the right to be considered Head of the church. As it is scarcely possible to doubt that she had just taken the ancient coronation oath, which binds the sovereign to maintain the church in all things as Edward the Confessor did, this proclamation is difficult to reconcile with such obligation. That oath, by the want of moral consistency of the English legislature, was imposed on every one of her successors, whether their principles were protestant or catholic, until the alteration made by parliament at the coronations of William III. and Mary II. Surely it is but moral justice to shew some mercy, when discussing the characters of sovereigns whose oath and practice were required to be irreconcilably adverse.[1]

Garter king at arms having made three several obeisances before the queen's majesty, at the upper end of the hall, proclaimed the style and title in Latin, French, and English—

[1] See a most valuable collection of instances of coronation oaths, in Mr. A. Taylor's Glories of Regality.

"Of the most high, puissant, and most excellent princess, Mary the First, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, of the church of England and Ireland supreme head. Largess, largess, largess!"

No observance appertaining to an English sovereign was omitted at this banquet; the feudal cups, the wafers, and ypocras, were all duly received by the maiden sovereign as by her ancestors. It was candlelight ere her majesty had dined; and after the tables[1] were taken up, and her hands laved, she arose and stood in the midst of the *haut place*, with the princess Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves, surrounded by all the nobility, according to their degrees. She then called to her the foreign ambassadors, and after conversing with them graciously for a short time, and thanking them for their attendance, she gave them leave to retire. The queen changed her dress in the privy chamber, and all the nobility divested themselves of their robes, and accompanied her, the princess, and the ladies to their barges, and whilst they made their short voyage to Whitehall Stairs. Nor did the fatigues of the day end here, for the evening concluded with feasting and royal cheer at Whitehall Palace.

Dramatic representations were among the entertainments at Mary's coronation festival; these were superintended by Heywood, the comic dramatist, whose attachment to the Roman ritual had caused him to take refuge in France. By an odd coincidence, he returned to his native country on the very same day that Bale, the sarcastic poet of the Reformers, retreated to Geneva. If we may be permitted to judge by the tone of their writings, pure Christianity and moral truth lost little by the absence of either ribald railer, for they were nearer allied in spirit than their polemic hatred would allow.

[1] Dining tables then stood on trestles, and were carried off after dinner.

There is something irresistibly absurd in the change of places of these persons, resembling the egress and regress of the figures in a toy barometer, on the sudden alterations of weather to which our island is subject.

The comedian Heywood, it has been shewn, had served queen Mary from her childhood, beginning his theatrical career as manager to one of those dramatic companies of infant performers which vexed the spirit of Shakspeare into much indignation, and caused him to compare them to "little eyasses."[1]

When Heywood, on his return from banishment, presented himself before his royal mistress,[2]—

"What wind has blown you hither?" asked queen Mary.

"Two special ones," replied the comedian; "one of them, to see your majesty."

"We thank you for that," said Mary; "but, I pray, for what purpose was the other?"

"That your majesty might see *me*."

A first-rate repartee for a player and dramatist, and her majesty appointed an early day for beholding him in his vocation. He was appointed manager of the performances of her theatrical servants; and she often sent for him to stand at the sideboard at supper, and amuse her with his jests, in which it is said the protestant reformation was not spared, though, according to Camden, the arrows of the wit glanced occasionally at his own church, even in these interviews with majesty.

Four days after her coronation, queen Mary performed the important office of opening her first parliament. She rode to Westminster Abbey in scarlet velvet robes, her peers spiritual and temporal attending her, likewise dressed in scarlet, with trumpets sounding before them.

[1] The young nestlings of hawks; these hawklings being untrained, and good for little in falconry. It appears, in Mary's Privy Purse Expenses, she often paid for seeing Heywood's juvenile actors.

[2] Camden's Remains.

In the abbey, the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated according to the ancient custom. It did not pass over without manifestations of the sincere protestant principles of two of the bishops,—Taylor, of Lincoln, and Harley, of Hereford,—who, refusing to kneel at the mass, were thrust violently out of the abbey and the queen's presence. After mass, the queen, the lords, and the remaining bishops, adjourned to the usual parliament chamber in Westminster Palace. They went in grand state, the earl of Devonshire bearing the sword before the queen, and the earl of Westmorland the cap of maintenance. After Mary had seated herself on the throne, bishop Gardiner, as lord chancellor, made an oration, shewing the causes wherefore the virtuous and mighty princess Mary, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith and head of the church, had summoned her parliament. He concluded by signifying her pleasure that the commons should, at their accustomed place, choose a speaker.[1]

The queen had, by previous proclamation, remitted to her people two heavy property taxes, one on lands and the other on goods, called, in the financial language of the day, "two tenths" and "two fifteenths," granted by the last parliament of Edward VI. for the purpose of paying the debts of the crown. The queen, in this proclamation, acknowledged herself answerable for these debts, promised to use the utmost economy to pay them off from her own resources, although they had been chiefly incurred by the misrule of the duke of Northumberland. As she had no private purse of her own at her accession, and as she had restored the estates of several of the great nobility,[2] and had resolved not to touch any part of the church lands still retained by the crown, it

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 290.

[2] It is supposed, besides this relinquishment of taxes, she surrendered 60,000*l.* per annum to the rightful owners—a sum exceeding the revenues of the crown.

must be owned she commenced her government in a state of poverty, deep enough to exonerate her from any charge of bribing her senate. Some historians have affirmed that the emperor furnished the funds for bribing this parliament;[1] if so, the recipient parties were strangely ungrateful, since the only measures in which they opposed the queen's wishes were relating to her marriage with his son prince Philip.

The first act of legislation was to restore the English laws to the state, regarding life and property, in which they stood in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. Since the accession of the Tudor line, a hideous change had taken place. It is only common justice to queen Mary to describe the state in which she found the laws of England at her accession.[2] In the freer days of the Plantagenets, an open or overt act of violence or war against the sovereign was needful before a man could be attainted; in the third year of Henry VIII., a supposed knowledge of conspiracy was sufficient to incur all the penalties of treason. Very few of Henry VIII.'s numerous victims could have been put to death according to the ancient laws: towards the end of his life the English law was still more infamously infringed. Our Saxon chroniclers record that the Norman conqueror and his sons made cruel laws for the protection of game; they acted as conquerors, without the sanction of the national council, but Henry VIII. found a parliament to make it death for an Englishman to take a hawk's egg, in the twenty-fifth of his reign. In his thirty-first year, the measure of his cruelty swelled higher, and "conjuring, sorcery, witchcraft,[3] and digging up crosses," were made capital. In the thirty-third year

[1] See Rapin, Burnet, and most of the historians of the last century.

[2] See Holingshed, vol. i., p. 185.

[3] Witchcraft, when not accompanied by poisoning, was not capital till this reign. Many crosses had been buried by the common people when monasteries and chantries were desecrated.

was the act compounded to which Surrey fell the victim, under this mysterious title, "Prophesying upon arms, cognizances, names, and badges;" likewise "casting of slanderous bills,"—that is, libel, was punished with death. Conveying horses or mares into Scotland was capital. The act which punishes stealing in a dwelling to the amount of 40*s*. owes its origin to one of Henry VIII.'s statutes. It has been recently modified, as it had, since the decrease of the value of money, become even more cruel in the present era, than in the sixteenth century. The state of vagabondage into which the sudden withdrawal of the provision for the destitute afforded by the monasteries had thrown numbers of the lower classes, had been restrained with barbarous laws in the reigns of Henry and his son, instead of a proper poor-law. The iron sway of Henry VIII. crushed, not only the ancient nobility and the richly-endowed monks, but also the common people. A statistic writer of those times, who is by no means properly impressed with the horror of the fact, computes that more than 72,000 persons were executed on the gibbet in his reign.[1] It cannot excite surprise that the earliest specimens of parliamentary eloquence in the house of commons, were excited by the review of these atrocious laws, which by one consent they compared to those of Draco."[2] As many men as there were in parliament, so many bitter names and invectives were bestowed on these statutes.

The parliament next proceeded to annul all previous acts passed in the reign of Henry VIII. relating to the

[1] See Holingshed's Chronicle, vol. i., p. 186. The statistical part of this chronicle is the only portion possessing literary merit. It was written by a chaplain of lord Brooke, of the name of Harrison, who speaks as a contemporary.

[2] Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii., p. 186. Henry VIII.'s unconstitutional alterations of the law of treason had been repealed in the first parliament of Edward VI.; but this repeal was a mere form, as the illegal executions of the two Seymours and their friends proved it to be.

divorce of Katharine of Arragon, and the illegitimation of her daughter. It has been already shewn that, by virtue of that most unconstitutional act of parliament, which placed the disposal of the crown at Henry VIII.'s will, he restored his daughters to their places in the succession; at the same time he left the acts of parliament in force, which, by declaring his marriages with their mothers, nullities, branded both sisters equally with illegitimacy; for his evil passions had caused such inextricable confusion in his family, that it was impossible to do justice to Mary without injuring Elizabeth. It was indispensable for the public peace that the title of the reigning sovereign should be cleared from stigma; nor was it her crime, but her father's, that justice could not be done to her own birth, without inexorable circumstances casting a stain on that of her sister. Yet as far as the unfortunate case would permit, Elizabeth was guarded from reproach; for all mention of her name, or that of her mother, was carefully avoided[1]—a forbearance deserving commendation, when it is remembered, that per-

[1] Rapin, whose history was the text-book of readers in the last century, has roundly made the following assertion, vol. ii., p. 34: "*The princess Elizabeth, being thus again declared illegitimate by an act which restored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the queen,*" &c. As this assertion has been copied into many other histories, particularly school-books, it is requisite to quote the words of the act, from the parliamentary journals (see Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 292); where the fact may be tested, that the queen confined herself to the removal of her own stigma, without casting any reproach on her sister's birth. "King Henry VIII. being lawfully married to queen Katharine (of Arragon), by consent of both their parents, and the advice of the wisest men in the realm, and of the notablest men for learning in the realm, did continue in that state for twenty years, in which God blessed them with her majesty and other issue, and a course of great happiness; but then a very few malicious persons did endeavour to break that very happy agreement between them, and studied to possess the king with a scruple in his conscience about it, and to support that did get the seals of some universities against it, a few persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had also, by sinister ways and secret threatenings, procured the seals of the universities of these kingdoms. And finally, Thomas Cranmer did most ungodlily and against law, judge the divorce upon his own unadvised

sonal insult as well as political injury, had been inflicted on Mary by Anne Boleyn. Such conduct in a person less systematically calumniated than queen Mary, would have been attributed by history to good motives, especially as she had just allowed Elizabeth, at the recent coronation, the place and honours of the second person in the realm.

Whilst this parliament sat, a bill of attainder was passed on lady Jane Gray, her husband, and Cranmer, who had been the same month brought to trial at Guildhall, before the lord chief justice Morgan; they pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death. Lady Jane conducted herself with angelic meekness, she comforted her companions in misfortune, and excited an interest so tender in the multitude that she was followed back to the Tower by crowds, weeping and bewailing her fate. It was nevertheless generally understood, that the queen meant to pardon her; and she was soon after given every indulgence compatible with safe keeping; she was permitted to walk in the queen's garden, at the Tower, and even on Tower-hill.[1]

But the most important act of the same session was

understanding of the scriptures, upon the testimonies of the universities, and some most untrue conjectures, and that was afterwards confirmed by two acts of parliament, in which were contained the illegitimacy of her majesty; but that marriage not being prohibited by the law of God, (here they alluded to the text in Deuteronomy, xxv. 5, allowing marriage with a brother's widow, if childless,) could not be so broken, since what God has joined together no man could put asunder. All which they considering, together with the many miseries that had fallen on the kingdom since that time, which they did esteem plagues sent from God for it; therefore they did declare the sentence given by Cranmer to be unlawful and of no force from the beginning, and do also repeal all acts of parliament confirming it." This bill was sent down by the lords on the 26th, and passed by the commons, *nem. con.*, on the 28th of October. There is no bill, during the whole six parliaments of queen Mary, in which her sister Elizabeth's name is mentioned, or any reproach cast on Anne Boleyn; no one is stigmatized, excepting the hapless Cranmer, "and a very few malicious persons," who are not named.

[1] Biographia Brit.

that which repealed the laws passed in the reign of Edward VI. for the establishment of the protestant church of England, and made the anti-papal church of Henry VIII.'s six articles, the dominant religion of the country, confirming queen Mary in the office she so much deprecated, as supreme head of that church. Its functions she continued to exercise till January, 1555.[1] That this was a period of grief and alarm to the protestant church of England, our ecclesiastical histories[2] amply manifest, and to their voluminous pages the reader is referred, where may be traced the arguments of those illustrious protestants who undauntedly defended their principles in the convocation held for the settlement of religion, at Westminster, in the autumn of 1553, and the struggles, often personal and violent, between them and the members of the newly-restored church of Henry, for possession of places of worship. The queen actually held the then despotic authority of supreme head of the church, more than a year and a half; during which period, had her disposition been as bloody and implacable as commonly supposed, she had ample time and opportunity to have doomed some of her religious opponents to the flames; or, at least, to have inflicted personal punishment on some of her numerous libellers. But it is as certain that till Mary surrendered her great power as head of the church of Henry VIII., the cruelties of her reign did not commence. The only anecdote regarding her private conduct towards a protestant clergyman, preserved by Fox, it would be difficult to interpret into an act of malice. The arrest of Dr. Edwin Sandys has been mentioned—his offences against the queen combined an attack on her title, and insult to her worship; never-

[1] See Parliamentary History, Edward VI., vol. ii.

[2] These histories are numerous, and written by protestants of various persuasions. Strype, Fox, Heylin, Collier, and Burnet, have all written voluminous histories on the same subject.

theless, she lent a favourable ear to the intercession of one of the ladies of her bedchamber, for his pardon, in case the bishop of Winchester had no objection. The next time Gardiner came to the privy chamber, the queen said to him—

"Winchester, what think you about Dr. Sandys? is he not sufficiently punished?"

"As it pleases your majesty," answered Gardiner, who had previously promised that if the queen was disposed to mercy he would not oppose it.

The queen rejoined—"Then, truly, we would have him set at liberty."

She signed immediately the warrant for his liberation, and called on Gardiner to do the same.[1] This action, which redounds so much to her credit, it may be perceived, was only performed by permission of Gardiner. A curious instance of his power occurred about the same time. He thought proper to suppress the two folios containing the paraphrases of Erasmus, translated by Udal, Cox, and queen Mary. This work had been published by the fathers of the protestant church of England, and placed in all churches in company with the Bible, as the best exposition of the Gospels.[2] Thus one of queen Mary's acts, as Head of the church, was the destruction of her own learned labours. Surely her situation in this instance, as author, queen, and supreme dictator, of a church by no means consonant with her principles as a Roman catholic, was the most extraordinary in which a woman was ever placed. She did not, however, manifest any of the irritable egotism of an author, but at the requisition of her lord chancellor con-

[1] Fox's Martyrology, book iii., folio 76. Dr. Sandys soon after retired to Zurich, where he waited for better times. He died archbishop of York.

[2] See Burnet, vol. ii., and Encyclopædia Britannica (article, Mary). Gardiner's quarrel with Cranmer and the other fathers of the protestant church of England, originated in his opposition to these paraphrases.

demned her own work to the flames, in company with the translations of her protestant fellow-labourers—an ominous proof of Gardiner's influence, who swayed her in all things, excepting her marriage with Philip of Spain; to which he was, in common with the majority of her subjects, of whatever religion they might be, sedulously opposed.

Among the other difficulties which Mary had to encounter in her reign, it was not the least that the rights of queen regnant of England were matter of speculation and uncertainty; her people believed that their country would be transferred as a marriage dowry to prince Philip, and sink into a mere province, like Sicily, Naples, Arragon, and other adjuncts of the crown of Spain. The example of their queen's grandmother, the illustrious Isabel of Castile, had proved that a female regnant, though wedded to a sovereign, could sway an independent sceptre with great glory and national advantage. Yet this instance was not only distant, but solitary; for female reigns in the middle ages had been very calamitous, and the English people could not imagine a married woman otherwise than subject to her husband, politically as well as personally; especially if that husband was her equal in birth and rank. These ideas seem to have prompted Mary's hitherto compliant parliament to send up their speaker, with twenty of their number, to petition—"that the queen would not marry a stranger or foreigner." Mary attributed this movement to Gardiner, and vowed she would prove a "match for his cunning;" accordingly, she sent that night for the Spanish ambassador, and bade him follow her into her private oratory; there, in the presence of the consecrated host, she knelt before the altar, and after repeating the hymn Veni Creator, she called God to witness, that while she lived she would never wed any

other man than Philip of Spain;[1] thus virtually making a vow to marry but one husband in case of her survivorship. This event occurred the last day of October, and for some days during the succeeding month she was extremely ill. On the 17th of November, she sent for the house of commons, when their speaker read the above-mentioned petition, and instead of the answer being given, as expected, by her chancellor, she herself replied, saying, that "for their loyal wishes, and their desire that her issue might succeed her, she thanked them, but inasmuch as they essayed to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not; for the marriages of her predecessors had been free, nor would she surrender a privilege that concerned her more than it did her commons."

This interference of the house of commons is generally supposed to have been the reason of their dissolution, which occurred on the 6th of December, when the queen came in state to the house, and at the same time gave her royal assent to thirty-one acts,[2] not in the manner of modern times, when the clerk of the house names and holds up the act in presence of the sovereign on the throne, who sits passively, till the officer, supposing silence gives consent, exclaims, "La reine le veut"—"The queen (or king) wills it." The action of assent in the days of the first queen regnant was more graceful and significant, and throws a light on the ancient use of the sceptre, for the royal approval was implied by the queen extending her sceptre, and touching the act immediately before the proclamation of "La reine le

[1] Dr. Lingard, from Griffet's edition of the despatches of Renaud, the Spanish ambassador. All the ecclesiastical historians of the last century, as Burnet, &c., represent Gardiner as the partisan of the queen's marriage with Philip, and of the reunion of England with the Roman see, but the researches of Mr. Tytler and other documentary historians shew him in his true light as their opponent.

[2] Parl. Hist., p. 390.

vent." Traits exist of this elegant ceremonial from the time of queen Mary down to the reign of queen Anne.[1] It is only mentioned in connexion with female sovereigns, but it was, there is no doubt, the etiquette of all English monarchs, previous to the era of George I., whose want of English might have led to some inconvenient results, for the ceremony called "sceptering the acts" seems to have expired with the last queen of the line of Stuart.

The queen had been informed, that since her legitimacy had been confirmed by parliament, the French ambassador, Noailles, had sought to awaken discontents in the mind of her sister Elizabeth, as if it were tantamount to her own degradation, and that Elizabeth was likewise jealous, because Margaret countess of Lennox, and Frances duchess of Suffolk, were sometimes given precedence before her at court. It is improbable that the queen should wish to give undue exaltation to the mother of lady Jane Gray; it is therefore likely that the precedence was in some particular instance given them, as matrons, before a young unmarried woman. No pains were spared by the malignity of partisans to create enmity between the royal sisters; but for a time these endeavours were fruitless, since Elizabeth, when questioned by the queen, cleared herself satisfactorily of receiving nocturnal visits from the intriguing Noailles. Mary took leave of Elizabeth with kindness, on her departure from court, to her seat at Ashridge, and gave her, as tokens of her affection, two sets of large pearls[2] and several jewelled rosaries magnificently mounted.

After the dissolution of parliament and the departure of her sister, the queen appears to have passed some

[1] See Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 332, and sir Henry Ellis's second series of English Historical Letters, vol. iv., letter of lord Tarbet to queen Anne. The parliamentary journals likewise mention "sceptering the acts."

[2] Lingard, vol. vii., p. 147, and List of queen Mary's Jewels, edited by sir F. Madden.

weeks in a state of solitude, owing to the severe attack of her constitutional malady. Early in January, count Egmont landed in Kent as ambassador from Spain, to conclude the marriage treaty between Mary and Philip. The first symptoms of a political storm about to burst were then perceptible, for the men of Kent rose partially in revolt, and Egmont was in some danger of being torn to pieces, being taken by the common people for the queen's bridegroom. However, he arrived safely at Westminster, and in a set speech opened his mission to the queen. Her reply had some spice of prudery in its composition. She said, "It became not a female to speak in public on so delicate a subject as her own marriage; the ambassador might confer with her ministers, who would utter her intentions; but," she continued, casting down her eyes on her coronation ring, which she always wore on her finger, "they must remember her realm was her first husband, and no consideration should make her violate the faith she pledged to her people at her inauguration."[1]

On the 14th of January the articles of the queen's marriage were communicated to the lord mayor and the city of London. According to this document, Mary and Philip were to bestow on each other the titular dignities of their several kingdoms; the dominions of each were to be governed separately, according to their ancient laws and privileges. None but natives of England were to hold offices in the queen's court and government, or even in the service of her husband. If the queen had a child it was to succeed to her dominions with the addition of the whole inheritance Philip derived from the dukes of Burgundy,—namely, Holland and the rich Flemish provinces, which in that case were for ever to be united to England;—a clause which, it is said, excited the greatest indignation in the mind of

[1] Griffet's edition of Renaud, p. xxx.

Don Carlos, the young heir of Philip. The queen was not to be carried out of her dominions without her especial request, nor her children without the consent of the nobility. Philip was not to engage England in his father's French wars; he was not to appropriate any of the revenue, ships, ammunition, or crown jewels of England.

If the queen died without children, all connexion between England and her husband was instantly to cease. If Philip died first, queen Mary was to enjoy a dower of 60,000 ducats per annum secured on lands in Spain and the Netherlands. No mention is made of any portion or *dote* brought by Mary to her spouse. One noxious article atoned to the ambitious Spaniard for the rigour of these parchment fetters, and this stipulated that Philip should *aid* Mary in governing[1] her kingdoms—a fact that deserves particular notice.

The week after these articles became public, three insurrections broke out in different parts of England. One was organized in the mid-counties by the vassals of the duke of Suffolk, for the restoration of lady Jane Gray; another by sir Peter Carew, in the west of England, with the intention of placing the earl of Devonshire and the princess Elizabeth on the throne.[2] As sir Peter Carew was desirous of establishing the protestant religion with a strong bias of Calvinism, it is surprising he was not likewise an upholder of lady Jane Gray's title. The third and most formidable of these revolts occurred in Kent, headed by sir Thomas Wyatt, a youth of twenty-three. He was a catholic,[3] but having ac-

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, and Dr. Lingard. Rapin wholly omits it.

[2] See Baoardo, p. 47; Stowe, 622; likewise De Thou and Heylin.

[3] Rapin says expressly, a *Roman* catholic? Burnet affirms the same; but they both confound so perpetually the Roman catholics with the members of the church of Henry VIII., under the bewildering term *papist*, (though the last was radically anti-papal,) that the truth is difficult to discover.

companied his father, the illustrious poet and friend of Anne Boleyn, on an embassy to Spain, where the elder sir Thomas Wyatt was in danger from the inquisition, he conceived, in his boyhood, such a detestation of the government, civil and religious, there, that his ostensible motive of revolt was to prevent like tyranny being established in England by the wedlock of the queen with Philip of Spain. Yet it is scarcely possible to imagine anything worse in Spain than had already taken place in England under Henry VIII., as the tortures and burning of Anne Askew, Friar Forest, and numerous other protestants and Roman catholics. As Wyatt was at the same time a catholic and a partisan of the princess Elizabeth, his conduct is exceedingly mysterious, without, indeed, he was an anti-papal catholic, and, discontented at the prospect of Mary's resignation of church supremacy, was desirous of placing Elizabeth (who professed the same religion) in her sister's place in church and state.

The queen was so completely deceived by the affected approbation of the duke of Suffolk to her marriage, that she actually meant to employ him against Wyatt, and sending for him to Sion,[1] found he had decamped with his brothers, lord Thomas and lord John Gray, and a strong party of horse they had raised. They took their way to Leicestershire, proclaiming lady Jane Gray queen in every town through which they passed,[2] to the infinite injury of that hapless young lady, still a prisoner in the Tower. The Gray revolt was quickly suppressed by the queen's kinsman, the earl of Huntingdon, in a skirmish near Coventry, when the duke and his brothers became fugitives, absconding for their lives. Carew's insurrection was likewise abor-

[1] Baoardo, p. 47. A letter in Lodge's Illustrations confirms the Italian.

[2] Stowe, p. 622. Likewise De Thou, Heylin, Rosso, and Baoardo, p. 47, printed 1547, but three years after.

tive, and he fled to France. This good news was brought to the queen on the 1st of February,[1] at the very moment when most alarming intelligence was communicated to her regarding Wyatt's progress in Kent. The queen had sent the aged duke of Norfolk, who had ever proved a most successful general, with her guards and some artillery, accompanied by five hundred of the London trained bands, commanded by captain Brett, who was secretly a partisan of Wyatt, and actually revolted to him at Rochester, with his company. This defection caused the loss of the queen's artillery and the utter dispersion of her forces, and gave such encouragement to the rebels, that Wyatt advanced to Deptford at the head of 15,000 men; from whence he dictated, as his only terms of pacification, that the queen and her council were to be surrendered to his custody.

The queen, with her wonted spirit, preferred to abide the results of open war, and prepared with intrepidity to repel the besiegers of her metropolis.

[1] Speed.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER V.

Consternation caused by Wyatt's siege—The queen's intrepidity—She goes to Guildhall—Her speech—Her palace defences—Nocturnal alarm—Terror of the queen's ladies—The queen's presence of mind—Refusal to retreat to the Tower—Her message to the gentlemen-at-arms—Her dialogue with Courtenay—Witnesses the defeat of the rebels—She signs lady Jane Gray's death-warrant—Queen's letter to the princess Elizabeth—Sends for her to Whitehall—Commits her to the Tower, &c.—Plots, disturbances, and libels against the queen—Letter of her young kinsman Darnley—Mary receives prince Philip's ring of betrothal—His agents urge the deaths of Elizabeth and Courtenay—The queen's conduct—She is tempted to establish despotism—Her conduct to Roger Ascham—Throckmorton's trial and the queen's illness—She dissolves parliament—Her speech on her marriage—She sends a fleet for Philip—Her proceedings in council at Richmond—Her ideas of a married queen regnant—Insists on the title of king for Philip—Her preparations for his reception—News of his arrival at Southampton—The queen departs from Windsor to meet him—She arrives at Winchester—Landing of Philip—Message of the queen—His journey to Winchester—Solemn interviews with the queen—She converses with him in Spanish—Marriage-day—Queen's wedding-dress—Marriage at Winchester Cathedral—Marriage banquet and festivities—Philip proclaimed titular king of England—Squabbles of the queen's catholic and protestant attendants.

When the news arrived of the failure of the duke of Norfolk's expedition, the greatest consternation pervaded the court and city. The royal residences at Westminster possessed no means of defence, excepting the stoutness of their gates and the valour of the gentlemen-at-arms.

The queen's legal neighbours at Westminster Hall

liked the aspect of the times so little, that they pleaded their causes clad in suits of armour, which were, however, decorously hidden by the flowing forensic robes. They followed the example set by Dr. Weston, who officiated at Whitehall Chapel in the service for Candlemas day, early that morning, (Feb. 2,) before the queen, with armour braced on under his priestly vestments,[1]—a real specimen of a clerical militant. He was, indeed, a most truculent polemic, proving afterwards a dreadful persecutor of the protestants, and a slanderer of the catholics.

In the midst of the warlike preparations of the valiant, and the dismay of the timid, queen Mary remained calm and collected. She ordered her horse, and, attended by her ladies and privy councillors, rode to the city. She had no intention of taking refuge within the fortified circle of London wall, then entire and tolerefficient; her purpose was merely to encourage the zens by her words and example.

The lord mayor, sir Thomas White, the most t and valiant of tailors,[2] received his sovereign lad Guildhall, clad in complete steel, over which war harness he wore the civic robe. He was attended the aldermen, similarly accoutred. Such portent equipments were true tokens of the exigence of hour, for the rumour went that Wyatt, then at So wark, was preparing to storm the city.

When the queen was placed in the chair of state, w her sceptre in her hand, she addressed the follow

[1] Collated from Tytler, p. 280, supported by Holingshed, Speed, a Strype, Martin's Chronicles, and the Venetian Baoardo.

[2] In those ages of turbulence and peril, when the civic chief of London had sometimes to buckle on armour, and stand storm and siege, there is scarcely an instance of a lord-mayor (whatever might be his trade) acting otherwise than became a wise and valiant knight. More than one among them won their spurs fairly as bannerets, and obtained pure nobility by the truest source of honour—the sword defensive. In modern times, it has been the fashion to speak scornfully of the London citizens; and as men are just what the opinions of their fellow-creatures make them, they have in the last century aimed at little more than being rich, benevolent, and well-fed, yet they should remember that their forefathers were likewise wise and valiant. They were, moreover, generous patrons of learning, which the names of Whittington and Gresham will recall to memory: and this sir Thomas White endowed St. John's College, Oxford (formerly Bernard's), so munificently, that he is considered as its founder.

speech to the citizens, with clearness of utterance and no little grace of manner:—

"I am come in mine own person to tell you what you already see and know; I mean the traitorous and seditious assembling of the Kentish rebels against us and you. Their pretence (as they say) is to resist a marriage between us and the prince of Spain;—of all their plots and evil contrived articles you have been informed. Since then, our council have resorted to the rebels, demanding the cause of their continued emprize. By their answers the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrel, for swerving from their former demands, they now arrogantly require the governance of our person, the keeping of our town, and the placing of our councillors. What I am, loving subjects, ye right well know—your queen, to whom at my coronation ye promised allegiance and obedience! I was then wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same, the spousal ring whereof I wear here on my finger, and it never has and never shall be left off. That I am the rightful and true inritor of the English crown, I not only take all Christendom to witness, also your acts of parliament confirming the same. My father (as ye now) possessed the same regal estate; to him ye were always loving cts; therefore I doubt not ye will shew yourselves so to me, his ter, not suffering any rebel, especially so presumptuous a one as Wyatt, to usurp the government of our person.

nd this I say on the word of a prince. I cannot tell how naturally ther loveth her children, for I never had any; but if subjects may oved as a mother doth her child, then assure yourselves that I, sovereign lady and queen, do as earnestly love and favour you. I ot but think that you love me in return; and thus, bound in con-, we shall be able, I doubt not, to give these rebels a speedy overthrow. Now, concerning my intended marriage, I am neither so desirous edding, nor so precisely wedded to my will, that I needs must have sband. Hitherto I have lived a virgin; and I doubt not, with God's , to live so still. But if, as my ancestors have done, it might please that I should leave you a successor to be your governor, I trust you ld rejoice thereat; also, I know it would be to your comfort. Yet if ought this marriage would endanger any of you, my loving subjects, ie royal estate of this English realm, I would never consent thereto, marry while I lived. On the word of a queen, I assure you, that if marriage appear not before the high court of parliament, nobility d commons, for the singular benefit of the whole realm, then will I bstain not only from this, but from every other.

"Wherefore, good subjects, pluck up your hearts! Like true men, stand fast with your lawful sovereign against these rebels, and fear them not, for I do not, I assure you.

"I leave with you my lord Howard and my lord treasurer, (Winchester,) to assist my lord mayor in the safeguard of the city from spoil and sack, which is the only aim of the rebellious crew."[1]

At the conclusion of this harangue, the crowd, who filled the Guildhall and its court, shouted, "God save

[1] Holingshed. Fox and Speed have interpolated a clause, as if the Kentish rising were against the queen's religion, not to be found in Holingshed, and positively denied by Rapin.

queen Mary and the prince of Spain!" She then mounted her horse, and rode with her train across Cheapside to the water-stairs of the Three Cranes in the Vintry; here she left her equestrian cortège, and took her barge, which had been appointed there; she went as near as possible to London Bridge, where the attack of Wyatt was threatened, and then was rowed to Westminster. On her arrival she held a council, in which she appointed the earl of Pembroke general of the forces, mustering to defend the palaces of St. James and Whitehall.

An armed watch was set that night in Whitehall Palace. The Hot Gospeller, Mr. Edward Underhill, presented himself, to take his share of this duty, but was repulsed and driven away by his bitter adversary, Norreys, who was a Roman-catholic; upon which, as Underhill writes, "I took a link to light me home, and went away for a night or two."

Three days of suspense passed over; in which time Wyatt, finding the city defences by the river side too strong for him, retreated from Southwark, his people contenting themselves with plundering Winchester House, the palace of bishop Gardiner; when they made such havock in his library, that the destructives stood knee deep in the leaves of torn books.[2]

The storm of civil war, averted from the city, was soon transferred to the door of Mary's own residence. At two in the morning, the palace of Whitehall was wakened by an alarm brought by a deserter from the rebels, declaring that Wyatt had made a detour from the east of the metropolis on the Surrey bank of the Thames, which he had crossed at Kingston Bridge, and would be at Hyde Park Corner in two hours. The hurry and consternation that pervaded the palace that winter's morning may be imagined. Barricades were raised in the points most liable to attack; guards were stationed even at the queen's bedchamber windows and her withdrawing rooms. The palace echoed with the wailings of the queen's ladies.

[1] Narrative of Baoardo, 1558, printed by Luca Cortile.
[2] Stowe's Annals.

Her royal household had been replenished with a bevy of fair and courtly dames, of a different spirit from those few faithful ladies who belonged to her little circle, when she was the persecuted princess Mary, and who shared her flight to Framlingham. These ladies—Susan Clarencieux, Mary Finch, and Mary Brown, and the grand-daughter of Sir Thomas More—were with her still, in places of high trust, but they had been too well inured to the caprice of Mary's fortunes to behave according to Edward Underhill's account of their colleagues.

"The queen's ladies," he said, "made the greatest lamentations that night: they wept and wrung their hands, and from their sayings may be judged the state of the interior of Whitehall. 'Alack, alack,' they said, 'some great mischief is toward! We shall all be destroyed this night! What a sight is this, to see the queen's bedchamber full of armed men—the like was never seen or heard of before!'"[1]

In this night of terror, every one lost their presence of mind but the queen. Her ministers and councillors crowded round her, imploring her to take refuge in the Tower. Bishop Gardiner even fell on his knees, to entreat her to enter a boat he had provided for that purpose at Whitehall Stairs. She answered, "that she would set no example of cowardice; and if Pembroke and Clinton proved true to their posts, she would not desert hers."[2]

In the midst of the confusion at St. James's, the Hot Gospeller, Mr. Edward Underhill, came again, dressed his armour, and was very thankfully admitted by the captain of the queen's guard, who could best appreciate his valour and fidelity to his standard.

The queen sent to Pembroke and Clinton information of the alarm in the palace. They returned the most earnest assurances of their fidelity. At four o'clock in the morning, their drums beat to arms, and they began to station their forces for the most effectual defence of the royal palaces of St. James and Whitehall; the rebels being uncertain in which queen Mary

[1] Ed. Underhill's Journal. Strype, vol. iii., p. 137.
[2] Renaud's Despatches. Holingshed, Speed, and Baoardo.

had sojourned that night. The queen had a very small force of infantry[1] but was better provided with cavalry, which was under the command of lord Clinton, the husband of her friend and kinswoman, the fair Geraldine. Bands of soldiers were posted at intervals, from Charing-cross to St. James's Palace, and on the hill opposite to the palace gateway, now so familiarly known by the name of St. James's-street, was planted a battery of cannon, guarded by a strong squadron of horse, headed by lord Clinton. This force extended from the spot where Crockford's club-house now stands, to Jermyn-street. The antique palace gateway and the hill still remain witnesses of the scene, but no building occupied at that time the vicinity of the palace, excepting a solitary conduit, standing where the centre of St. James's square is at present. The whole area before the gateway was called St. James's Fields;[2] and where passing thousands now swarm down the streets of Pall Mall and Piccadilly, sylvan lanes then extended, or park walls stretched on each side.

After Clinton and Pembroke had arranged their plan of action, the approach of the enemy was eagerly expected. Day broke on the 7th of February, slowly and sullenly, pouring with rain, a real London wintry morning. The difficulty of bringing up artillery through roads, (such as roads were in those days,) made still worse by the wet weather, had delayed Wyatt's entry till nine o'clock, when his forces, finding all access to the higher ground strongly guarded, divided into three: one part, under the command of captain Cobham, approached Westminster through the park, assaulting the back of St. James's Palace as they went; the second, led by Captain Knevet, attacked Whitehall; while the other, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, made their way down the old St. James's-lane, which seems no other than the site of Piccadilly.

[1] Baoardo, her nearest contemporary, says, but 500 men (p. 49); and Rapin, who has never seen the work of the Venetian, proves the same fact.

[2] See the ancient plans and pictures in Strype's Stowe, folio, likewise Holingshed and Speed's description of the action. Lord Bacon (2nd vol.) mentions the solitary conduit, as connected with one of his acoustic experiments.

Wyatt had been promised by his friends in the city, that Ludgate should be opened to him, if he could make his way thither; therefore, without providing for a retreat, he bent all his energies on the point of forcing a passage to that main entrance of the city. Lord Clinton permitted a small number of his followers to pass, before he charged down St. James's-hill, and commenced the contest, by severing the leader from his unwieldy army. Nevertheless, without heeding the battle in his rear, Wyatt and his men pushed on to gain Ludgate.

Two fierce assaults were meantime made simultaneously by the leaders of his main army, Knevet and Cobham; one attacked the palace of Whitehall, the other, that of St. James. A division of the queen's guards, under the command of sir Henry Jerningham, made good the defence of the latter; but Whitehall was in the utmost danger, for the remainder of the guards, headed by Sir John Gage, (who, though a valiant cavalier, was an aged man,) gave way before the overwhelming force.

At that alarming crisis, queen Mary stood in the gallery over the Holbein gateway at Whitehall, which it should be remembered, intersected the way near the present banqueting-house, and commanded a view up the vista, now called Parliament-street. Here she saw her guards broken and utterly dispersed by Knevet. Sir John Gage was overthrown in the dirt, but he succeeded in rising again, and made good his retreat to Whitehall. The defeated guards rushed into the court-yard of the palace, and fled to hide themselves among the wood and scullery offices. The gentlemen-at-arms, who were guarding the hall against attack, all ran out to see the cause of the uproar; when the porter flung to the gates, and locked all out, friend and foe. The gentlemen-at-arms were by no means satisfied with the precaution of the palace-porter, and did not like their station with the gates locked behind them.[1]

Meantime, sir Robert Southwell came round from one of the back yards, and the battle-axe gentlemen begged he would represent to the queen, that it was a scandal to lock the palace gates on them; but if she

[1] Strype, from Ed. Underhill's MS.

would only trust to them, she should soon see her enemies fall before her face.

"My masters," said sir Robert, putting his morion from his head, "I desire ye all, as ye be gentlemen, to stay yourselves here, while I go up to the queen, and I doubt not, she will order the gates to be opened; as I am a gentleman, I promise you to be speedy." He entered the palace by some private door to which he had access, and made a quick return. "My masters;" said he, "the queen was content the gates should be opened; but her request is, that ye go not forth from her sight, for her sole trust for the defence of her person is in you."

The palace gates were then flung boldly open, and the battle-axe gentlemen marched up and down before the gallery where the queen stood. When they were mustered, she spoke to them, telling them that, as gentlemen in whom she trusted, she required them not to leave the spot.[1]

Wyatt was in the meantime forcing the passes down the Strand to Ludgate, which were guarded by bands of soldiers commanded by Courtenay earl of Devonshire and the earl of Worcester.

Courtenay scampered off at the first approach of Wyatt.[2] It was supposed that timidity, from his inexperience in arms, had caused him to shew the white feather; but he really was a secret coadjutor of Wyatt, and willing to clear the way for him, though his manner of doing it was not likely to render him very popular with the fierce people over whom he wished to reign. Wyatt and his force then approached Ludgate, and summoned the warder to surrender; but instead of his citizen partisan, who, he supposed, had the keeping of that important city entrance, lord William Howard appeared in the gallery over the portal, and replied, sternly—

"Avaunt, traitor, avaunt—you enter not here!"

[1] Strype, from Ed. Underhill's MS.

[2] Bnoardo (p. 51) mentions Courtenay by name. Holingshed tells the circumstance, and describes the queen's personal heroism, but only calls Courtenay "a certain nobleman." His guarded yet circumstantial narrative is a curiosity. Renaud, Noailles, and Rosso, all agree in their account of Courtenay's behaviour.

There was no resource for Wyatt but to fight his way back to his main body. The queen's forces were between him and his army. Urged by despair, he renewed the contest with great fury near Charing Cross.

Meantime, Courtenay rushed into the presence of the queen, crying out that her battle was broke—that all was lost, and surrendered to Wyatt. The lion spirit of her race rose in the breast of Mary, and she replied, with infinite disdain,

"Such was the fond opinion of those who durst not go near enough to see the truth of the trial;" adding, "that she herself would immediately enter into the battle, and abide the upshot of her rightful quarrel, or die with the brave men then fighting for her. And so," continues old Holingshed, "she prepared herself accordingly."

Whitehall was at that moment assaulted in the rear by Cobham's forces, who had forced their way through the park from St. James's, while the contest still raged in the area of Charing Cross. The band of gentlemen-at-arms were very earnestly engaged in defence of the royal residence; part kept the rebels at bay in the rear of the palace, while the others defended the court-yard and gateway with their battle-axes. The queen actually came out of the palace among these faithful body-guards, and stood between two of them, within arquebuss-shot of the enemy,[1] while Pembroke made the final charge, which decided the fortune of the day.

The difficulty was, in this last struggle, to tell friends from foes. "The adversaries," says Holingshed, "could only be distinguished by the mire which had adhered to their garments in their dirty march from Brentford; and the war-cry that morning by the queen's troops was, 'Down with the draggletails!'"

Wyatt was forced down Fleet-street, whence there

[1] Baoardo, edited by Luca Cortile, p. 52. Rosso, p. 50. It is fully confirmed by old Holingshed. His praises of the queen's valour and presence of mind are excessive. The real writer of his narrative was George Ferrers, master of the revels to Edward VI. and Mary; he was afterwards a writer in the protestant interest, but an eye-witness and partaker in the dangers of this struggle. He acted as a sort of aid-de-camp, and passed many times with messages between Pembroke and the queen.

was no retreat. He sat down, fatigued and dispirited, on a fish-stall opposite to Bel Savage's inn, and was finally prevailed on to surrender by sir Maurice Berkley, an unarmed cavalier, who took him up behind him, and carried him to court as prisoner, whence he was conveyed to the Tower. The band of gentlemen-at-arms were soon after admitted to the queen's presence, who thanked them very graciously for their valiant defence of her person and palace. They were all of them gentlemen of family; and many of them possessors of great landed estates. This was, in the time of the Tudors, the most splendid band of royal guards in Europe.

The most dolorous consequence of this rebellion was, that the queen was beset on all sides with importunities for the execution of the hapless lady Jane Gray; against whom the fatal facts of her re-proclamation as queen by her father, and at Rochester by some of Wyatt's London allies, were urged vehemently. Poinet, the protestant bishop of Winchester, affirms that those lords of the council who had been the most instrumental at the death of Edward VI., in thrusting royalty upon poor lady Jane, and proclaiming Mary illegitimate, were now "the sorest forcers of men, yea, became earnest councillors for that innocent lady's death."[1] He plainly indicates these were the earl of Pembroke and the marquis of Winchester, prosperous men at the court of Elizabeth, when he wrote.

The day after the contest with Wyatt, queen Mary came to Temple Bar, and there, on the very ground saturated with the blood of her subjects, she was persuaded to sign the death-warrant of her hapless kinswoman, on the plea that such scenes would be frequent while she suffered the competitor for her throne to exist. The warrant specified that "Guildford Dudley and his wife" were to be executed on the 9th of February. It was evidently a measure impelled by the exigency of the moment, before queen Mary had lost the impression of the blood lately shed around her, and of the numerous executions which must, per force, follow the rebellion. Sudden as the order was, lady Jane Gray declared she was prepared for it. Dr. Feckenham, the queen's chaplain, who had had frequent conferences with the angelic

[1] Strype, vol. iii., part 1, p. 141, thus quotes Poinet.

victim since her imprisonment, was deputed to prepare her for this hurried death. Lady Jane was on friendly terms with him; but was naturally anxious to be spared the harassing discussion of their differing creeds. She, therefore, declined disputing with him, saying that her time was too short for controversy. Upon this, Feckenham flew to the queen and represented to her that, indeed, the time was fearfully short for preparation of any kind; and how could she expect lady Jane to die a catholic,[1] if she was thus hurried to the block without time for conviction? The queen immediately respited the execution for three days. Lady Jane smiled mournfully on her zealous friend, when he brought her news of this delay. She told him, he had mistaken her meaning; she wished not for delay of her sentence, but for quiet from polemic disputation. The meek angel added, "that she was prepared to receive patiently her death in any manner it would please the queen to appoint. True it was her flesh shuddered, as was natural to frail mortality; but her spirit would spring rejoicingly into the eternal light, when she hoped the mercy of God would receive it."

The memory of this beautiful message to queen Mary, far more touching than any anecdote our English church historians have recorded of lady Jane Gray, was preserved by Feckenham; who, though he succeeded not in turning the heavenly-minded prisoner from the protestant religion, won her friendship and gratitude. Her last words bore witness to the humanity and kindness she received from him.[2]

The executions of this lovely and innocent girl and her young husband must ever be considered frightful stains on the reign of a female sovereign. Since the wars of the roses, the excitable turbulence of the people would never permit any near connexions of the crown to rest in peace, without making their names the excuse for civil war. But if queen Mary considered herself

[1] Baoardo, p. 45.

[2] See the History of queen Mary I., by our protestant bishop Goodwin. (White Kennet.) Feckenham was the last abbot of Westminster. Both lady Jane and abbot Feckenham were martyrs for their respective faiths. He endured, in the reign of Elizabeth, a captivity of twenty-five years, and died at last a prisoner in the noxious castle of Wisbeach-in-the-Fens.

impelled to the sacrifice by inexorable necessity, she neither aggravated it by malicious observations nor hypocritical conduct.

Watch was kept night and day in armour at court, so great was the panic at this crisis. The city presented the most frightful scene, for military law was executed on fifty of the train-bands, who deserted the queen's standard under Brett. These deserters being all citizens, many were hung at their own doors, and left there. So that, according to an Italian eye-witness, "the queen could not go to the city without beholding the ugly sight of dangling corpses at every turn of the street." But let those who live in our blessed times of peacefulness, imagine, if they can, the agony of the harmless families within the houses—children, wife, mother, or sisters, who saw a dear, perhaps, an only protector, thus hanging before his own door-way. What tragedy has ever equalled such woe? Yet the numbers put to death in this insurrection, about sixty, were trifling, in comparison with the victims[1] of rebellions in the preceding and succeeding reigns, and few persons were sacrificed who were not guilty of a breach of trust. The prisoners taken in arms of Wyatt's army, amounting to five hundred, were led to the tilt-yard at Whitehall, with ropes about their necks; the queen appeared in the gallery above, and pronounced their pardon in person. The same day that lady Jane Gray was executed, the earl of Devonshire was sent to the Tower, "with a great company of guards," according to a letter written the same evening to the earl of Shrewsbury,[2] which adds—"The lady Elizabeth was sent for three days ago, but yet she is not come, whatsoever the *let* (hindrance) is." In fact, the confessions of sir Thomas Wyatt and some others, gave queen Mary

[1] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i., p. 235.

[2] Many historians have supposed Wyatt's confessions extorted by torture, but there exists no document proving the use of torture in his case; neither in his speeches on his trial, carefully noted down by Holingshed, does he mention such a fact, though, if he had been tortured, would he have failed to mention it, when he said, in allusion to the services of his family, "My grandfather served most truly her grace's grandfather (Henry VII.), and *for his sake was on the rack in the Tower*"? See Holingshed, 4to., black letter, vol. ii., p. 1736.

notice of a competitor for her crown, still nearer to her than the candid and angelic Jane whose life she had just sacrificed—this was her sister, the princess Elizabeth. On the outbreak of the strife, the queen had sent for Elizabeth from Ashridge, by the following letter, written in her own hand:—

"Right dear and entirely beloved sister, we greet you well. And whereas, certain ill disposed persons, minding more the satisfaction of their malicious minds, than their duty of allegiance towards us, have of late, spread divers untrue rumours; and by that means, and other devilish practices, do travail to induce our good and loving subjects, to an unnatural rebellion against God and us, and the common tranquillity of our realm. We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to come to some peril if any sudden tumult should arise, either where you now be, or about Donnington, (whither we understand you are bound shortly to remove,) do therefore think expedient, you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed to make your repair hither to us, which we pray you will not fail to do, assuring you that you will be most heartily welcome to us. Of your mind herein, we pray you return answer by this messenger. And thus we pray God to have you in his holy keeping. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the 26th day of January, the 1st year of our reign.

"Your loving sister,

"MARY THE QUEEN."

Elizabeth was very ill, and pleaded to the messenger, mentioned by the queen, that she was utterly unable to travel. Mary permitted her to remain a fortnight, waiting for convalescence. Accusations were, however, reiterated against her, not only by Wyatt, but by her own officer, sir James Croft, who had been made prisoner in an abortive attempt to raise an insurrection in Wales, simultaneously with those in Kent and Devonshire. The queen then sent imperatively for Elizabeth, yet shewed consideration for her by the person despatched to bring her to Whitehall. This was lord William Howard, who was not only her great uncle, (brother to Anne Boleyn's mother,) but the kindest friend she had in the world. The queen sent withal her own litter for her sister's accommodation, and her three physicians, to ascertain whether she could travel without danger.[1]

Before the princess Elizabeth arrived at Whitehall, the queen had heard so many charges against her that

[1] Mr. Tytler's recent discoveries in the State Paper Office have been followed in this narrative, in preference to Fox, whose account is contrary to documents.

she would not see her, but assigned her a secure corner of the palace to abide in. She had formerly given Elizabeth a ring as a token, and told her to send it if at any time there should be anger between them. Elizabeth sent it to her at this alarming crisis, but was answered, that she must clear herself from the serious imputations alleged against her, before they could meet.

It was fortunate for Elizabeth, that the queen meant conscientiously, to abide by the ancient constitutional law of England, restored in her first parliament, which required that an overt or open act of treason must be proved, before any English person could be attainted as a traitor. Courtenay was, as well as Elizabeth, in disgrace; he had been arrested a few days after the contest with Wyatt, and sent to the Tower. It is to queen Mary's credit that she urged the law of her country to the Spanish ambassador, when he informed her "that her marriage with the prince of Spain could not be concluded till Courtenay and Elizabeth were punished."[1]

The Spaniard thus quotes her words to his master, Charles V:—"The queen replied, 'that she and her council were labouring as much as possible to discover the truth as to the practices of Elizabeth and Courtenay; and that as to Courtenay, it was certain he was accused by many of the prisoners of consenting and assisting in the plot, and that the cipher with which he corresponded with sir Peter Carew, had been discovered cut on his guitar; that he had intrigued with the French, and that a match had been projected between him and Elizabeth, which was to be followed by the deposition and death of her the queen; yet the law of England condemns to death only those who have committed overt acts of treason; those who have merely implied consent by silence, are punished but by imprisonment, and sometimes by confiscation of goods.'" Renaud angrily observes, elsewhere, "that it was evident the queen wished to save Courtenay, and of course, Elizabeth, since she does not allow that her guilt was as manifest as his."[2] Correspondence, of a nature calculated to

[1] Tytler's Mary I., vol. ii., p. 320. [2] Ibid.

enrage any sovereign, was discovered, which deeply implicated Elizabeth. Notwithstanding all that has been urged against Mary, it is evident, from the letters of the Spanish ambassador, that she proved her sister's best friend, by remaining steadfast to her expressed determination that, "though she was convinced of the deep dissimulation of Elizabeth's character, who was, in this instance, what she had always shewn herself, yet proof, open proof, must be brought against her before any harsher measures than temporary imprisonment were adopted." In short, whatever adverse colours may be cast on a portion of her history, which really does her credit, the conclusion built on the irrefragable structure of results, is this,—Mary dealt infinitely more mercifully by her heiress, than Elizabeth did by hers. And how startling is the fact, that queen Mary would not proceed against her sister and her kinsman because the proof of their treason was contained in cipher letters,[1] easy to be forged, when correspondence in cipher brought Mary queen of Scots to the block, protesting, as she did, that the correspondence *was* forged.

At this crisis queen Mary gave way to anger; she had offered, if any nobleman would take the charge and responsibility of her sister, that she should not be subjected to imprisonment in the Tower; but no one would undertake the dangerous office. The queen then expedited the warrant, to commit Elizabeth to the Tower. The earl of Sussex and another nobleman were appointed to conduct the princess thither, but she persuaded them[2] (it does not seem for any particular object, except writing a letter to the queen) to outstay the time of tide at London Bridge. This act of disobedience incensed Mary; she rated the offending parties at the council board, "told them they were not travelling in the right

[1] Consisting of three, from Wyatt to Elizabeth, and one, more important, from Elizabeth herself to the king of France (Henry II.), who, through Noailles, his turbulent ambassador, was the prime mover of the rebellion. See Dr. Lingard, vol. vii., and Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, vol. ii. State Papers. The letter, which would have involved Elizabeth in the penalties of treason, was in cipher characters.

[2] See the Life of Queen Elizabeth, in which these events will be detailed circumstantially.

path, that they dared not have done such a thing in her father's time," and finally, as the most awful feature of her wrath, "wished that he were alive for a month."[1]

Well she knew, that he was never troubled with scruples of conscience, concerning how the ancient laws of England regarded treasons, open or concealed; for if he supposed, that even an heraldic lion curled its tail contumaciously, that supposition brought instant death on its owner, despite of genius, virtue, youth, beauty, and faithful service.[2]

There was a seditious piece of trickery carried on in the city at this time, which, if it had happened in the days of Henry VIII., would have been followed by deluges of blood. In an old uninhabited house in Aldersgate Street, a supernatural voice was heard in the wall, which the people, who gathered in the street to the amount of seventeen thousand, affirmed was the voice of an angel, inveighing against the queen's marriage. When the crowd shouted "God save queen Mary!" it answered nothing. When they cried "God save the lady Elizabeth!" it answered, "So be it." If they asked "What is the mass?" it answered, "Idolatry." The council sent lord admiral Howard and lord Paget to quiet the spirit, which they did by ordering the wall to be pulled down, and soon unharboured a young woman, named Elizabeth Croft, who confessed that she was hired by one Drakes, to excite a mob. While queen Mary reigned alone, and possessed that share of health which permitted her sometimes to exercise her high functions, according to her own will, an amelioration, certainly, had taken place in the severity of punishment, for in the parallel case of mock prophecy, in the time of Henry VIII., Elizabeth Barton, though undeniably an epileptic, and consequently unconscious of imposture, was hung, with seven unfortunate companions. Queen Mary took no similar vengeance; the heroine of the "voice in the wall" was set in the pillory for her misdeeds, but with no attendant cruelty, or the minute city

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary I., vol. ii., p. 343.

[2] The gallant earl of Surrey was put to death for a supposed difference in the painting of the tail of the lion in his crest.

chroniclers[1] would have specified it. Thus did this grotesque incident pass on without the usual disgusting waste of human life. Another adventure still more absurd, proves the state of excitement which pervaded all natives of England, of whatever age and degree, concerning the queen's marriage. Three hundred children assembled in a meadow near London, divided in two parties to play at the game "of the queen against Wyatt;" these little creatures must have been violent partisans on both sides, for they fought so heartily that several were seriously wounded, and the urchin that played prince Philip, the queen's intended spouse, being taken prisoner and hanged by the rest, was nearly throttled in good earnest, before some people, alarmed at the proceedings of the small destructives, could break in and cut him down. Noailles, the French ambassador, who relates the story (and being a detected conspirator against the queen, maligns her on every occasion), affirms, that she wished the life of one at least to be sacrificed for the good of the public. The truth is, the queen requested "that a few salutary whippings might be dispensed, and that the most pugnacious of this band of infantry, might be shut up for some days," and that was all the notice she took of the matter.[2]

Conspiracies against queen Mary's life abounded at this unsettled time; even the students of natural philosophy (which, despite of the stormy atmosphere of the times, was proceeding with infinite rapidity) were willing to apply the instruments of science to the destruction of the queen. "I have heard," says lord Bacon, "there was a conspiracy to have killed queen Mary, as she walked in St. James's Park, by means of a burning-glass fixed on the leads of a neighbouring house. I was told so by a vain, though great dealer in secrets, who declared he had hindered the attempt." Of all things, the queen most resented the libellous attacks on her character, which abounded on all sides. She had annulled the cruel law, instituted by her father, which punished libels on the crown with death; but, to

[1] Holingshed. Stowe, p. 624.
[2] Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary I., vol. ii., p. 331.

her anguish and astonishment, the country was soon after completely inundated with them, both written and printed; one she shewed the Spanish ambassador,[1] which was thrown on her kitchen table. She could not suffer these anonymous accusations to be made unanswered; she said, with passionate sorrow, that "she had always lived a chaste and honest life, and she would *not* bear imputations to the contrary silently;" and, accordingly, had a proclamation made in every county, exhorting her loving subjects not to listen to the slanders that her enemies were actively distributing.[2] This only proved that the poisoned arrows gave pain, but did not abate the nuisance.

A remonstrance from the protestants, in verse, was found by the queen[3] on the desk of her oratory, when she knelt down to pray: this was couched in very different terms from the indecorous productions which had so deeply grieved her; for this poem was (excepting a verse or two, likening her to Jezabel,) affectionate, and complimentary. Its strains are much in the style of Sternhold and Hopkins. The commencing stanzas are—

"O lovely rose, most redolent
Of fading flowers most fresh,
In England pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art peerless.

"This rose, which beareth such a smell,
Doth represent our queen.
O, listen, that I may you tell
Her colours fresh and green:

"The love of God within her heart
Shall beautify her grace;
The fear of God, on the other part,
Shall 'stablish her in place;

"The love of God shall aid her cause,
Unfeigned if it be,
To have respect unto his laws,
And hate idolatry."

[1] See the abstracts from Parliamentary History and Holingshed, which shew that Henry VIII., for the first time in England, caused an act to be made punishing libel with death.

[2] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., p. 377.

[3] See Fox's Martyrology. He does not date the production, but it is evidently written while Mary was still head of the church, and not long after she had appointed Gardiner her prime minister.

* * * * *

"Your ministers that love God's word,
They feel the bitter rod,
Who are robbed of house and goods,
As if there were no God.

"And yet *you* do seem merciful
In midst of tyranny,
And holy—whereas you maintain
Most vile idolatry!

"For fear that you should hear the truth,
True preachers may not speak,
But on good prophets you make ruth,
And them unkindly treat.

"Him have you made lord chancellor,[1]
Who did your blood most stain,[2]
That he may suck the righteous blood
(As he was wont) again.

"Those whom our late good king[3] did love,
You do them most disdain;
These things do manifestly prove
Your colours be but vain.

"God's word you cannot well abide,
But as *your* prophets tell;
In this you may be well compared
To wicked Jezabel!

"Therefore my counsel pray you take,
And think thereof no scorn,
And you'll find it the best advice
Ye had since ye were born."

This homely poesy allows the queen's good qualities in the midst of the recapitulation of her protestant subjects' grievances. How she received it, is not known, but it is an amiably disposed canticle, in comparison with the foul and fierce libels, her enemies were pouring forth to her discomfort, at the same period.

Amidst all these troubles and contentions, Mary found time to examine with approbation the Latin translations of her little kinsman, lord Darnley, and to send him a present of a rich gold chain, as an encouragement, for some abstract he had made, either from sir Thomas More's Utopia, or in imitation of that celebrated work. A letter of thanks to the queen from this child is ex-

[1] Gardiner.
[2] By forwarding the divorce of Katharine of Arragon.
[3] Edward VI

tant;[1] which proves that she had frequently sent him valuable presents, and treated him kindly. Mary encouraged him to proceed in a learned education, in which he was early progressing, according to the unhealthy system of precocious study in vogue at that day, of which she herself, and her brother Edward VI. were noted instances. The little lord Darnley, in his letter, designates queen Mary "most triumphant and virtuous princess," in allusion to her late conquest of the rebels, his epistle being written on the 28th of March, 1554. In quaint but pretty language he expresses his wish that his tender years would permit him to fight in her defence. He was the eldest son of queen Mary's cousin-german and early companion, lady Margaret Douglas, at this time first lady in waiting, and wife to the Scottish exiled lord, Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox. It is matter of curiosity to trace queen Mary's patronage of lord Darnley and his family during his early life, since he is involved in utter historical obscurity, till his important marriage with the heiress of the English crown, in 1565.

The queen had not only to contend with her discontented subjects, but with the machinations of most of the foreign envoys at her court. Besides the French, the Venetian ambassador was deeply involved in the plots for dethroning her. His treachery was first revealed to her by a person no less illustrious than Sebastian Cabot,[2] the first discoverer of North America, who spent his honoured age in England, the country he had so essentially served, and adopted for his own.[3] His

[1] MS. Cottonian Vesp., F. iii., f. 37. This letter has been quoted as a specimen of lord Darnley's mode of writing to Mary queen of Scots—a mistake, since it is dated 1554, when he was but nine years old, and even at that early age, he speaks of a long series of presents and benefactions bestowed by the queen, to whom it was addressed.

[2] Tytler, vol. ii., p. 304.

[3] His English biographer says it *was* his own, being born at Bristol, in 1467; but we think he is mistaken for his son Sebastian, as the venerable discoverer was certainly ninety-four, instead of seventy, when he died. For was it likely he discovered Newfoundland in his twentieth year, or was given the ostensible command of the first English discovery expedition at that early age, by so wary a prince as Henry VII.? He was at this time employed in commercial legislation of the greatest importance, by queen Mary. He

depositions before council shew that he was unwilling to see England convulsed by the intrigues of his countrymen, for he proved that the insurgents had been supplied with arms from a Venetian ship in the river.

Despite of the extreme repugnance manifested by all her subjects to her marriage with Philip of Spain, queen Mary accepted his ring of betrothal, brought by count Egmont, who had returned to England, on especial embassy, in March. This distinguished man, who afterwards died on the scaffold for vindicating the civil and religious liberty of his country, was, at the time of his sojourn in England, in the flower of his age, and was one of the most splendid soldiers, in person and renown, that Europe could produce.

The Tuesday after his arrival, the earl of Pembroke and lord admiral Howard came to escort him into the presence of their royal mistress and her council, accompanied by Renaud, the resident ambassador, who describes the scene:—"The eucharist was in the apartment, before which the queen fell on her knees, and called God to witness that her sole object in this marriage was the good of her kingdom; and expressed herself with so much pathos and eloquence, that the bystanders melted into tears." The oaths confirming the marriage were then taken on the part of England and Spain; "after which," proceeds Renaud, "her majesty again dropped on her knees, and requested us to join our prayers with hers, that God would make the marriage fortunate. Count Egmont then presented queen Mary with the ring, which your majesty sent, which she shewed to all the company; and assuredly, sire, the jewel is a precious one, and well worth looking

held a pension of £166. 13*s*. 4*d*. of the crown, first granted by protector Somerset, who has the credit of drawing this great man from the ungrateful neglect into which he had fallen, during the last abhorrent years of Henry VIII. Cabot was employed by queen Mary in the establishment of the Russia trade, one of those great improvements in commerce which she performed, but lived not to see the advantage. The last public action of Cabot was to visit the ship she had fitted out under his direction, the first that ever sailed on commercial speculation to Russia. He examined it finally at Gravesend, and bestowed bountiful alms on poor sailors, and other poor, beseeching their earnest prayers for the success of the expedition. He died in 1556. Journal of Stephen Burroughes.

at. We took our *congée* after this, first enquiring whether her majesty had any commands for his highness prince Philip? She enjoined us to bear her most affectionate commendations to his good grace. She would that they should both live in mutual good offices together; but that as his highness had not yet written to her, she deferred writing to him till he first commenced the correspondence." This is not the only hint that Renaud throws out respecting the neglect of the Spanish prince; he likewise shews anxiety that the gentlewomen who were most confidential with the queen should not be forgotten. "Your majesty understands," he writes to the emperor, "that at the coming of his highness, some little presents of rings, or such small gear, must be made to the queen's ladies; particularly to three, who have always spoken a good word for the marriage—these were, mistress Clarencieux, Jane Russell, and mistress Shirley."

In proportion to the strong wilfulness with which Mary's mind was set on this marriage, was the amount of temptation, when she was artfully informed that the destruction of her sister and of her kinsman Courtenay could alone secure it. Her tempter was Renaud, the Spanish ambassador, who was perpetually urging on her attention that it would be impossible for prince Philip to approach England till his safety was guaranteed by the punishment of the rebels. To which the queen replied, with tears in her eyes,[1] "That she would rather never have been born, than that any outrage should happen to the prince." The spleen of the Spanish ambassador had been excited by the queen sending for him on Easter Sunday, March 27th, to inform him that, "as it was an immemorial custom for the kings of England to extend their mercy to prisoners on Good Friday, she had given liberty to eight, among others to Northampton (the brother of Katharine Parr), none of whom had been implicated in the recent rebellion." For a very good reason, certainly, since they were safe under the ward of locks and bolts in the Tower. The

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary. Renaud's Despatches, vol. ii., pp. 348, 350.

murmurings of the discontented Spaniard, and his threats "that, if her majesty continued such ill-advised clemency, his prince could never come to England," occasioned the queen to weep, but not to change her purpose, though he zealously presented her with Thucydides, in French (forgetting that the English queen could read the original Greek), to teach her how traitors ought to be cut off.[1]

In the next interview, which happened at the council-board, Renaud spake out plainly, and demanded by name the victims he required, before she could be blessed with the presence of her betrothed. His words are,[2] "that it was of the utmost consequence that the trials and *executions* of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and the lady Elizabeth, should take place before the arrival of his highness." The answer of queen Mary is a complete specimen of the art of dismissing the question direct by a general observation.

"She had," she said, "taken neither rest nor sleep for the anxiety she felt for the security of his highness at his coming."

But this answer did not spare Mary from another urgent requisition for kindred blood. Bishop Gardiner remarked, "that as long as Elizabeth lived there was no hope of the kingdom being tranquillized, *and if every one went to work roundly, as he did,* things would go on better."

This savage speech gives authenticity to a passage which occurs in an old memoir of Elizabeth's early life, entitled England's Elizabeth, in which the following assertion occurs:—

"A warrant came down, under seal, for her execution, Gardiner being the inventor of that instrument. Master Bridges no sooner received it, but, mistrusting false play, presently made haste to the queen, who was no sooner informed but she denied the least knowledge of

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 346; likewise Burnet, as to Thucydides.

[2] Tytler, ibid., p. 365. It is to be hoped that, after this plain evidence of the cruel intentions of the Spanish court, the paradox will no longer be believed, that it was Philip who spared the life of Elizabeth, when these scenes shew that Mary was her sister's only protector.

it; she called Gardiner and others whom she suspected before her, blamed them for their inhuman usage of her sister, and took measures for her better security."[1]

If Bridges (the lieutenant of the Tower, who was the same man who shewed such tender respect to lady Jane Gray,) had not had full confidence in the attachment of Mary to her sister, he dared not have made such an appeal.

The measures Heywood describes as taken by queen Mary for the security of her sister's person were chiefly sending sir Henry Bedingfeld, with a strong guard to take the entire charge of her, till she could be removed to a distant country-palace. This appointment, he affirms, took place on the 1st of May. Here, again, is another historical mystery explained of Elizabeth's after amiable conduct to sir Henry Bedingfeld. That gentleman, though deeply devoted to her sister, was plainly the guardian of her life from the illegal attacks of Gardiner and the privy council.

The perpetual delays of the trials of Elizabeth and Courtenay had been, in a series of grumbling despatches to the emperor, attributed by his ambassador Renaud to Gardiner,[2] whom he accuses so perpetually, in consequence of being the friend of Elizabeth, that the reader of these documents is half inclined to believe he was such.

But the positive attack on Elizabeth's life, in which Gardiner planned the species of tragedy, afterwards successfully acted by Burleigh, in the case of Mary queen of Scots, removes all doubts regarding his enmity to her. The apparent ambiguity of his conduct arose from the fact that he was in reality Courtenay's friend; and Elizabeth and Courtenay were so inextricably implicated together in this rebellion, that one could not be publicly impeached without the other.

Some reason existed for Gardiner's protection of Courtenay. The family of this noble had been martyrs to

[1] By Thomas Heywood. It is written with the utmost enthusiasm in the cause of Elizabeth and of the protestant church of England, therefore undue partiality to Mary cannot be suspected. He is one of those authors who state the facts they have heard or witnessed, without altering or suppressing them on account of political antagonism.

[2] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., pp. 338, 339, 346.

catholicism; it is very doubtful if Courtenay, though politically tampering with the protestant party, had shewn the slightest personal bias to protestantism, and he had withal been for some time Gardiner's fellow-prisoner in the Tower. It is certain, from whatever causes, that Gardiner had always been the great promoter of Courtenay's marriage suit to the queen, and since the insurrection, he must have considered the *liaison* between Courtenay and Elizabeth as a fresh obstacle to these views. The cruel intentions of both Renaud and Gardiner against Elizabeth were plainly enough spoken at the council conference narrated by the former, and it is as plain that she had but one friend in the fearful conclave, and that was the sister whose deposition and death she had connived at, but whose intense constancy of disposition would not suffer her to destroy one, whom she had tenderly caressed and loved in infancy.

In one of these sittings of council was first started the idea of marrying Elizabeth to the brave, but landless soldier, Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, the dispossessed prince of Piedmont; thus removing her by wedlock, if not by death. This was, from the commencement to the end of Mary's reign, a favourite notion with Philip of Spain. Probably connected with it was the proposal of sending Elizabeth to the care of the queen of Hungary. But Mary no more approved of her sister's removal from England than of her destruction, as subsequent events proved.

Renaud notices a remark made by lord Paget, "that it was vain to think of remedying the disorders in the kingdom without the thorough re-establishment of religion, (meaning catholicism;) this, he added, would be difficult, if the opinion of the chancellor (Gardiner) were followed, who was anxious to carry through the matter by fire and blood."[1] In some other passages, Renaud himself blames the violence of Gardiner in matters of religion; and how savage must Gardiner have been, if he excited the reprobation and disgust of a man, whose inhumanity has been shewn to be glaring?

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii.; p. 365.

As for the queen, whenever the ambassador blames her, it is for sparing persons whose destruction was advised by the Spanish government.

This council-conference was held the day before the queen's third parliament met in Westminster. Mary, or rather Gardiner, had intended to summon the parliament at Oxford, instead of the metropolis, as a punishment for the part the London-trained bands had taken in Wyatt's rebellion. This intention was overruled; the queen went in great state to Westminster Abbey, and was present with the lords and commons at the mass of the Holy Ghost.[1] She did not go to the Whitehall chamber and open the sessions; this was done by Gardiner, who in his speech observed, that the queen could not come without danger to her person, because of the furious storm of wind and rain then raging.[2] The queen must have had some other motive for absenting herself, since the parliament chamber was but a short distance from the Abbey. Gardiner introduced the subject of her marriage formally in his address, and laid before the senate her marriage articles, "from which it was apparent," he observed, "that instead of the prince of Spain making acquisition of England as promulgated by the rebels, England had made an acquisition of him, and all his father's kingdoms and provinces.[3]

Queen Mary told Renaud,[4] that while she attended the mass in Westminster Abbey at the opening of parliament, she saw the earl of Pembroke, who had returned from his country house, where he had been keeping Easter, and she spoke to him, and made much of him, bidding him welcome and his wife also, and she now trusts all things will go well."

The parliament was earnestly employed in passing laws, in order to secure the queen's separate and independent government of her dominions, without control from her husband. They took jealous alarm, that all

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., p. 368.
[2] Parl. Journals, Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii., p. 303.
[3] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., p. 368.
[4] Ib. Katharine Parr's sister was at this time dead, and Pembroke re-married.

power was vested in the name of kings in the statute-book, without any mention of queens-regnant; and their first care was, to provide a remedy for this deficiency, lest Philip of Spain, when invested with the titular dignity of king, might legally claim the obedience of the nation, because there was no precedent of queenly authority in the written laws of the land. The speaker brought in a bill, declaring,[1] "that whereas the queen had succeeded of right to the crown, but because all written laws had declared the prerogative to be in the king's person, some might pretend that it did not extend to queens, it was therefore declared to be law, that such prerogative did belong to the crown, whether it were worn by male or female; and whatsoever the law did appoint or limit for a king was of right due to a queen (regnant), who was declared to have as much right as her predecessors."

This motion gave rise to another alarm in the house of commons, which was, "that as the queen derived her title from the common or oral law of the land, acknowledged by the English people before acts of parliament or statute law existed, she might defy all written laws in which kings only were mentioned, and rule despotic queen of England." It appears, this odd idea was seriously discussed by Mr. Skinner, a patriotic member of the house of commons; nor was his caution so superfluous as it appears at first sight, for a tempter was already busy with queen Mary, dressing up this silly quibble in an attractive form for her consideration. There was a person[2] who had been Cromwell's servant, and much employed in the suppression of monasteries, a great partisan for lady Jane, and in arms for her title, and altogether a very busy and factious character. The queen had given him her pardon, with many other minor agents of Northumberland, yet he rose again in Wyatt's rebellion, and was put once more in the Fleet

[1] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii.

[2] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii., p. 258. The name of this unprincipled person is not mentioned. The incident is stated by Burnet to be drawn from the MS. of Dr. William Petyt. Recorder Fleetwood related the circumstance to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who immediately had the narrative transcribed.

prison. He had some personal acquaintance with one of the emperor's ambassadors, (most likely with Renaud, who was exceedingly busy with English affairs,) by whose intercession with the queen this political agitator was once more liberated. While detained in the Fleet, he had amused himself by concocting a precious plan for the establishment of despotic power in England. On his liberation, he carried his manuscript, which he entitled "A new Platform of Government, contrived for the queen's majesty," to his Spanish patron. In this treatise he argued, "that as the statute-law only named kings, queens-regnant were not bound by it, and therefore might claim unlimited authority, and were by right despotic sovereigns." From which quibble the author drew the inference, "that the queen could, without waiting for the co-operation of parliament, re-establish the supremacy of the pope, restore the monasteries, and punish her enemies, by the simple exertion of her own will." After reading this unprincipled production with great approbation, the Spanish ambassador carried it to queen Mary, and begged her to peruse it carefully, and keep its contents secret. As the queen read the treatise, she disliked it, judging it to be contrary to her coronation oath. She sent for Gardiner, and when he came she charged him, "as he would answer it at the general day of doom, that he would consider the book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it forthwith." The next day happened to be Maundy Thursday, and after queen Mary had made her maundy to her alms people, Gardiner waited on her in her closet, to deliver the opinion she requested on the manuscript, which he did in these words:—

"My good and gracious lady, I intend not to ask you to name the devisors of this new-invented *platform*, but this I will say, that it is pity so noble and virtuous a queen should be endangered with the snares of such subtle sycophants, for the book is naught, and most horribly to be thought on."

Upon which queen Mary thanked him, and threw the book behind the fire; moreover, she exhorted the Spanish ambassador "that neither he nor any of his

retinue should encourage her people in such projects."

In this interview one of the good points in the character of Mary's prime minister was perceptible, which was, attachment to the ancient laws of England, and he had sometimes dared to defend them at that dangerous period when Cromwell was tempting Henry VIII. to govern without law. Gardiner was likewise an honest and skilful financier, who managed Mary's scant revenue so well, that while he lived she was not in debt; yet he was a generous patron of learning, and if he could benefit a learned man in distress, even the cruelty and bigotry which deformed and envenomed his great talents remained in abeyance. Having thus, by stating the "for" and "against" in the disposition of this remarkable man, humbly followed the example prescribed by Shakespere in his noble dialogue between queen Katharine and her officer Griffiths, on the good and evil qualities of Wolsey, it remains to quote, in illustration of his conduct, a curious anecdote, concerning himself, queen Mary, and Roger Ascham, the celebrated tutor of the princess Elizabeth, Roger himself in one of his epistles being the authority. Queen Mary had promised him the continuation of his pension of £10 per annum, granted by her brother Edward VI. as a reward for his treatise written on archery, called the Toxophilite. "And now," said he, "I will open[1] a pretty subtlety in doing a good turn for myself, whereat, perchance, you will smile; I caused the form of the patent for my pension to be written out, but I ordered a blank place to be left for the sum, and I brought it so written to bishop Gardiner; he asked me, 'Why the amount of the sum, ten pounds, was not put in?' 'Sir,' said I, 'that is the fault of the naughty scrivener, who hath withal left the blank space so large, that the former sum t-e-n will not half fill it, and therefore, except it please your good lordship to put twenty pounds instead of ten, truly I shall be put to great charges in having the patent

[1] The anecdote is in one of his letters to queen Elizabeth, complaining of his being badly provided for. Edited by Dr. Whittaker, in his History of Richmondshire.

written out again, but the word *twenty* will not only fill up the space, but my empty purse too!' Bishop Gardiner laughed, and carried the patent to queen Mary, and told her what I said, and the queen, without any more speaking, before I had done her any service, out of her own bountiful goodness made my pension twenty pounds per annum. I had never done anything for her," added Ascham, "but taught her brother Edward to write, and though I differed from her in religion, she made me her Latin secretary." He adds many commendations on the learning and wisdom of Gardiner, which sprung from his exuberant gratitude for the complete success of his "pretty subtlety."

Whilst the sessions of parliament continued, the execution of the unfortunate Wyatt took place, and a few days afterwards the trial of sir Nicholas Throckmorton. This gentleman, who had given the queen that important warning which had saved her life and crown, had become malcontent, and had, to a certain degree, intrigued by message and letter with sir Thomas Wyatt. His trial was the first instance, since the accession of the Tudor line, in which a jury dared do their duty honestly and acquit a prisoner arraigned by the crown. The prisoner defended himself manfully; he would not be brow-beat by his partial judge, Bromley, who had been so long accustomed to administer polluted law, that he was obstinate in forcing the trial into the old iniquitous way which had destroyed thousands in the fearful days of Henry VIII., when condemnation followed arraignment with unerring certainty. Throckmorton had an answer for every one; he appealed to the recently restored laws of England; he quoted the queen's own eloquent charge to her judges,[1] when she inducted them into office, the memory of which would have been lost but for the pleadings of this courageous man. "What time," he said, "my lord chief justice, it pleased the queen's majesty to call you to this honourable office, I did learn of a great man of her highness's privy council that, among other good instructions, her majesty charged and enjoined you 'to administer law and justice in-

[1] Holingshed, b. iv., 4to ed., vol. ii., p. 1747.

differently, without respect to persons.' And notwithstanding *the old error among you, which did not admit any witness to speak, or any other matter to be heard, in favour of the prisoner,* when the crown was party against him, the queen told you '*her pleasure was, that whatsoever could be brought in favour of the accused should be admitted to be heard;*' and moreover, that you, specially, and likewise all other justices, should not '*sit in judgment otherwise for her highness than for her subject.*' This manner of indifferent proceeding being enjoined by the commandment of God, and likewise being commanded you by the queen's own mouth, therefore reject nothing that can be spoken in my defence, and in so doing you shall shew yourselves worthy ministers, and fit for so worthy a mistress." "You mistake the matter," replied judge Bromley, "the queen spake those words to master Morgan, chief justice of the common place (pleas)."

This exordium of Mary to her judges was no hypocritical grimace, no clap-trap at her accession; she honestly acted upon it; for the witness whose testimony acquitted Throckmorton that day, came out of her own household. At the moment when the prisoner's life hung on the proof of whether he was conscious or not of the precise time of Wyatt's rising, he called on sir Francis Inglefield,[1] who, with his colleague, sir Edward Walgrave, was sitting on the bench with the judges, and asked him to speak what he knew on that head. Inglefield immediately bore witness, like an honest man as he was.

"It is truth," said he, "that you were at my house, in company with your brothers, at that time, and to my knowledge ignorant of the whole matter."

The moment Throckmorton was acquitted, the base judge committed the honest jury to prison, who had done their duty like true Englishmen, who deserve everlasting praise as the practical restorers of the con-

[1] The reader is familiar with the names of both these gentlemen, as Mary's servants, in her long adversity, who endured imprisonment for her sake, during her religious troubles in her brother's reign. They were now privy councillors and officers of the royal household, and were basking in the full sunshine of royal favour.

stitution of their country, long undermined by the abuses that the queen had pointed out to her judges The facts developed in this remarkable trial indicate that the wishes and will of the queen were distinct from the officials who composed her government. These were men, who had been bred in the despotic ways of her father. In truth, England had been, since the sickness and infirmity of Henry VIII., governed by a small tyrannical junta, composed for the time being of the prevalent faction in the privy council. The members of this junta oppressed the people, defied the laws, bullied or corrupted the judges, cajoled and really controlled the crown, till, the cup of their iniquities becoming full, in the next century they actually caused the reverse of the monarchy. A place in this noxious junta was the aim and end of every unprincipled man of abilities in public life, without the slightest scruple whether he had to profess the protestant or catholic ritual.[1] Such was the true well-spring of the miseries and atrocities which had tormented England since the death of sir Thomas More. This unconstitutional power had strengthened itself during the minority of Edward VI., and was by no means inclined to give ground before a queen-regnant of disputed title.

It was the trial of sir Nicholas Throckmorton which first brought the illegal proceedings of the privy council into popular notice, under the designation of the decrees of the Star-chamber, afterwards so infamous in English history. They had long been at work in the same way, but in the present instance, public attention had been peculiarly excited by Throckmorton's recitation of the queen's eloquent charge to her judges, and indignation was raised to a high pitch when the jury were, after unjust imprisonment, threatened by the Star-chamber, and mulcted with heavy fines, while the acquitted prisoner was as unjustly detained in the Tower. As the queen, at the intercession of his brother, set sir Nicholas Throckmorton free, soon after, uninjured in person or estate, he considered he had had

[1] Some of Mary and Elizabeth's privy councillors had twice professed catholic and twice professed protestant principles!

a fortunate escape.[1] It is said, that she finally remitted the fines of the worthy jury who had acquitted him. But it was alike degrading to a queen, who wished to rule constitutionally, and to Englishmen, whom the law had not declared guilty, to give and receive pardons of the kind.

The queen was extremely ill, sick almost to death, at the time of Throckmorton's trial. The public, and even Renaud, attributed her indisposition to Throckmorton's acquittal; but the decided part taken by the queen's confidential friend, Inglefield, in his favour, is a sure proof that the trial took a course not displeasing to her, however it might enrage her privy council.[2]

By the 5th of May, the queen was sufficiently recovered to dissolve parliament in person. She pronounced a speech from the throne, in presence of her assembled peers and commons, which excited so much enthusiasm, that she was five or six times interrupted by loud shouts of "Long live the queen!" and at the same time, many persons present turned away and wept. Such was the description given by Basset,[3] one of the royal attendants present, to Renaud; and the courtly reporter attributed these emotions to her majesty's eloquence. It is to be hoped, that those who wept were mourning over the deep degradation of the national character, since the house of peers, which had unanimously joined in establishing the protestant church of England four short years since, now, to the exultation of the Spanish ambassador, as unanimously agreed in enacting that the ancient penalties against heretics should be enforced, classing as heretics the members of the very church they had so recently planted. This house of peers consisted of about fifty laymen, who were, with the exception of five or six persons, the very same individuals who had altered religion in the preceding reign. It is true, that the spiritual peers who sat among them were catholic, instead of protestant bishops; yet, had

[1] Throckmorton Papers.

[2] It is scarcely to be doubted that Inglefield was the man who had reported the queen's charge to her judges to sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

[3] One of the gentlemen-in-waiting, husband to Sir Thomas More's grand-daughter.

the lay peers been honest or consistent, a very strong majority might have prevailed against the enactment of cruel penal laws for the persecution of a church they had lately founded; but they were not honest, for Renaud plumed himself on the emperor's success in bribing the most influential of their body.[1]

William Thomas was hung at Tyburn, on the 18th of May; he had been clerk to the privy council of Edward VI., and had been very urgent with the rebels to destroy the life of Mary, if she fell in their power. He was the last of the victims executed for participation in Wyatt's insurrection, for the queen had pardoned her kinsman, lord John Gray, likewise sir James Crofts, and admiral Winter, although the two last had been each the leader of a separate revolt; nor did she exercise this privilege of her high station without much murmuring from Renaud. This minister of mercilessness announced to his master the emperor, "that all the judges had pronounced that, if brought to trial, the proofs against Courtenay were such as to insure his condemnation to death, if the queen could be prevailed on to give him up to it; but besides her impracticability in his favour, her trusted servant, sir Robert Rochester, was the stanch friend of both Courtenay and Elizabeth, and wished for their union; and that the queen trusted lord William Howard implicitly with her ships, who made no scruple of avowing his friendship for Elizabeth, although Mary's partisans expected he would one day revolt, with the whole fleet."[2] The queen shewed greatness of mind in her implicit reliance in Rochester and Howard, malgré all these insinuations; she knew they had proved true as steel, in the hour of her distress; and it is most evident by the result, that she did not consider them as enemies, because they pleaded for her unfortunate relatives.

The day succeeding the execution of William Thomas, the princess Elizabeth was liberated from her confine-

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., pp. 369, 389. The journals of the house of lords are lost, but the above inference is justified by the comparison of the list of the house of lords summoned in the first year of Edward VI. and the first year of Mary I. See Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii., pp. 216, 289.

[2] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., pp. 375, 395.

ment in the Tower, and sent by water to Richmond Palace, and from thence to Woodstock, where she remained under some restraint. Part of the queen's household guards, under the command of Bedingfeld, had charge of her. About the same time, Courtenay was sent to Fotheringay Castle, likewise under guard, though not confined closely.

On the same important week arrived don Juan Figueroa, a Spanish grandee of the first class. He was designated, in a private letter of the earl of Shrewsbury,[1] "as the ancient ambassador with the long grey beard, who was here when the late king Edward died." His errand was to be ready in England for the reception of prince Philip. The emperor had deputed this nobleman to invest the prince, at his marriage, with the kingdom of Naples, in order to render him equal in dignity with his spouse.

The lord admiral Howard had sailed from Portsmouth, with the finest ships of the queen's navy, to join the united fleets of Spain and the Netherlands, that prince Philip might be escorted to his bride with the utmost maritime pomp. On the appointment of Howard to this command, the emperor's ambassador offered him a pension as a token of the prince's gratitude; he referred him to the queen, who gave leave for its acceptance, but it had not the least effect on the lord admiral's independence, for his national combativeness rose at the sight of the foreign fleets; and Renaud[2] sent a despatch full of complaints to the emperor, saying, "that the lord admiral Howard had spoken with great scorn of the Spanish ships, and irreverently compared them to mussel-shells." Moreover, he quarrelled with the Spanish admiral, and held him very cheap. He added, "that the English sailors elbowed and pushed the Spanish ones whenever they met on shore, with which rudeness the lord admiral was by no means displeased." And had it not been for the extreme forbearance of the Spanish admiral in preventing his men from going on shore during the month the combined fleets were waiting for queen Mary's spouse, the English would have picked a

[1] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i., p. 238.
[2] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., p. 414.

quarrel, and given their allies battle royal. To add to all these affronts, lord admiral Howard forced the prince of Spain's ships to do the maritime homage the English fleet always insisted on, as sovereigns of the narrow seas, by striking topsails in the Channel, though the prince was on board in person.[1]

Philip had continued until the middle of May at Valladolid, governing Spain as regent for his distracted grandmother, the queen-regnant, Joanna. Queen Mary had written to him a French letter, commencing with the words, "*Monsieur, mon bon et perpetual allié,*" in which she announced to him the consent of her parliament to their marriage. The letter is worded with great formality,[2] and assumes the character of England writing to Spain, rather than queen Mary to her betrothed husband; yet she could scarcely adopt a different tone, since the prince had sedulously avoided writing to her, as may be gathered from the reiterated complaints of Renaud on this subject,[3] even at so late a date as the 28th of April, 1554, six days after the despatch of queen Mary's letter. At the end of May, the bridegroom made a farewell visit to the royal maniac whose sceptre he swayed. To save time, his sister, the princess-dowager of Portugal, met him by the way; and at the same time he bade her adieu, and resigned into her hands the government of Spain.[4] He arrived at Corunna at the latter end of June, and, after waiting some time for a favourable wind, finally embarked for England on the 13th of July.[5]

Mary and her council meantime retired to Richmond Palace, and sat in earnest debate regarding the reception of don Philip, and the station he was to occupy in England. Unfortunately, Mary had no pre-

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii.; Renaud's letter, June 9th; and a quotation in Kempe's Loseley MSS.

[2] This letter is better known than any of Mary's correspondence, and being a mere piece of state ceremony, without a tinge of personal interest, is omitted here.

[3] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., p. 380.

[4] Renaud's Despatches. Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., pp. 401, 402.

[5] Dr. Lingard, vol. vii., p. 172.

cedent to guide her in distinguishing between her duties as queen-regnant, and the submission and obedience the marriage vow enforced from her as a wife. It is true, that she was the grand-daughter of Isabel of Castille, the greatest and best queen that ever swayed an independent sceptre; but then, on the other side, she was grand-daughter to the undoubted heiress of England, Elizabeth of York, who had afforded her the example of an utter surrender of all her rights, to the will of her husband. It is very evident that queen Mary considered that her duty, both as a married woman and a sedulous observer of the established customs of her country, was, as far as possible, to yield implicit obedience to her spouse.[1] All the crimes, all the detestation with which the memory of this unfortunate lady has been loaded, certainly arose not from intentional wickedness, but from this notion. The first question on which the queen and her council came to issue was, whether, in the regal titles, her name should precede that of her husband. On this point, Renaud became very earnest: "I told the chancellor," he wrote to the emperor, "that neither divine nor human law would suffer his highness to be named last."[2] The result was that the queen yielded precedence to the titular dignity of Philip. Her next desire was to obtain for him the distinction of a coronation as king; but on this point, Gardiner and her council were resolute. "She had,"

[1] The undefined rights of a queen regnant of England had been made matter of anxious discussion by Henry VIII., in reference to his daughter Mary. He caused to come before him the two chief justices, with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and Garter king of arms, to argue the question, whether men were by law or courtesy entitled to hold baronies and other honours, in right of their wives. In the course of the debate, the king asked "If the crown should descend to his daughter, whether her husband should use the style and title of king of England?" The chief justice answered, "Not by right, but by grace, because the crown of England is out of the law of courtesy, but if it were subject thereto, then it were clear."

This opinion certainly implied the power of the female sovereign to confer, by her special favour, the title of king on her husband. (From sir W. H. Nares's collections, folio MS. (p. 22), formerly in the hands of John Anstis, Garter king at arms, now in possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., of Middle Hill, through whose favour this extract is taken.)

[2] Renaud's Despatch, June 9th.

they said, "been crowned and received their oaths with all the ceremonies pertaining to the kings her ancestors, and what more could be needed?" Mary then expressed her wish that her wedded lord might be crowned with the diadem of the queens consort of England, but that was negatived.[1] She was forced to content herself by providing for him a collar and mantle of the garter, worth £2000, with which he was to be invested the moment he touched English ground. She spent the remainder of June at Guildford Palace, in order to be near the southern ports.

It was the middle of July before tidings were heard of the approach of the combined fleets, when the queen despatched Russell, lord privy seal, to receive Philip, who was expected at Southampton. Mary gave her envoy the following instructions, which afford an ominous instance of the future sway Philip was to bear, through her, in the government of England:—

"Instructions for my lord privy seal.

"First, to tell the *king* the whole state of the realm, with all things pertaining to the same, as much as ye know to be true. Second, to obey his commandment in all things. Thirdly, in all things he shall ask your advice to declare your opinion, as becometh a faithful councillor to do.

"MARY THE QUEEN."[2]

The day before the royal cortège departed for Winchester, the book containing the list of the queen's attendants was brought before the privy council, and carefully scanned by Gardiner and Arundel, when the following odd dialogue took place, whilst they were examining the list of the gentlemen-at-arms presented to them by the lieutenant, sir Humphrey Ratcliffe. When they came to the name of Edward Underhill, the Hot Gospeller, to whose journal this biography has been so much indebted,

"What doth he here?" said Arundel.

"Because he is an honest man; because he hath served queen Mary from the beginning, and fought so

[1] Martin's Chronicle.

[2] MS. Cott. Vesp., F. iii., f. 12. This document is entirely in Mary's hand. She styles her betrothed, *king*, by which she must mean, king of England, as the investiture of the kingdom of Naples had not taken place.

well for her at Wyatt's rebellion," answered sir Humphrey Radcliffe.

"Let him pass then," said Gardiner.

"He is an arch heretic; nevertheless," rejoined Arundel.[1]

The carriage which conveyed the queen's ladies on this bridal expedition, was a very droll vehicle, and redolent as it was with red paint, must have surpassed the splendour of a modern wild-beast show. It is graphically described in one of Mary's own royal orders, as follows:—

"We command you, on the sight hereof, to deliver to our well beloved Edmund Standon, clerk of our stable, one *waggon* of timber work, with wheels, axletrees, and benches; and fine red cloth to cover the said waggon, fringed with red silk, and lined with red buckram; the waggon to be painted outside with red; also collar, draughts, and harness of *red leather*. A hammercloth with our arms and badges of our colours; and all things pertaining to the said waggon; which is for the ladies and gentlewomen of our privy chamber."

The queen was at Windsor Castle when the tidings arrived, that don Philip and the combined fleets of England and Spain, amounting to one hundred and sixty sail, had made the port of Southampton, Friday, July 20th, after a favourable voyage from Corunna of but seven days.[2] The queen and her bridal retinue the next day set out for Winchester, where she had resolved her nuptials should be celebrated, not by the unfortunate Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, whose right it was to perform the ceremony; but by her prime minister, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. She made her public entry into Winchester on Monday,[3] July 23rd, in the midst of a furious storm of rain and wind, and took up her abode in the episcopal palace, which had been prepared for her reception.

In the meantime, don Philip landed on the 20th of July. He was rowed on shore in a magnificent state barge, manned by twenty men, dressed in the queen's

[1] Strype's Memorials.

[2] Lingard, vol. vii., p. 172.

[3] The narrative of this marriage is from Ralph Brook, York Herald's Book of Precedents, printed from the MS. of sir Edward Dering, combined with the author's original translation from the Italian of Bavardo, printed at Venice, 1558.

liveries of green and white. The barge was lined with rich tapestry, and a seat was provided for the prince, covered with gold brocade. Mary had sent this vessel to meet her spouse, attended by twenty other barges, lined with striped cloth, which were to accommodate, with due regard to their several dignities, his Spanish officers of state. Among these, was more than one historical character; the duke of Alva (afterwards infamous for his cruelties to the protestants in the Netherlands) was the principal in rank, as Philip's major-domo.

When the prince ascended the stairs leading to the mole at Southampton, he found a deputation from the queen, and a great concourse of nobles and gentry waiting to receive him. He was immediately presented with the order of the garter, which was buckled below his knee, by the earl of Arundel, when he first set foot on English ground; he was likewise invested with a mantle of blue velvet, fringed with gold and pearl. The queen had sent by her master of horse, a beautiful genet for the prince's use, who immediately mounted it, and rode to the church of the Holy Rood, at Southampton, where he returned thanks for his safe voyage. From thence he was conducted to a very fine palace,[1] in which an apartment was prepared for him, with a canopy and chair of state of crimson velvet, gold and pearl. The room was hung with some of Henry VIII.'s best arras, figured with white and crimson, and gold flowers, and bordered with the titles of that monarch, in which the words "Defender of the Faith, and Head of the Church," seem to have made a remarkable impression on the minds of Philip's attendants.

The prince was dressed simply in black velvet; he wore a berret cap of the same, passamented with small gold chains; a little feather drooped on the right side. There are letters and descriptions extant, which wonderfully commend his beauty of face and figure; but his numerous original pictures do not bear out such assertions—his complexion being cane-coloured, his hair

[1] Supposed, by the learned historian of Winchester, to be Wolvesley Palace, belonging to that bishopric.

sandy and scanty—his eyes small, blue, and weak, with a gloomy expression of face, which is peculiarly odious in a person of very light complexion. A mighty volume of brain, although it sloped too much towards the top of the head, denoted, that this unpleasant-looking prince was a man of considerable abilities.

The following day being Friday, don Philip went to mass, accompanied by many English nobles, to whom he behaved courteously, and gave much satisfaction, excepting only, they remarked, that he never raised his berret-cap. The weather had set in with an incessant down-pouring of wet, such as an English July only is capable of. "It was a cruel rain," says the Italian narrator, "on the Saturday;" through which Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, came to welcome don Philip, accompanied by fifty gentlemen with rich gold chains about their necks, dressed in black velvet, passamented with gold, and a hundred other gentlemen in black cloth, barred with gold. The duchess of Alva landed in the evening, and was carried on shore in a chair of black velvet, borne by four of her gentlemen.

Don Philip despatched the next morning his grand chamberlain, don Ruy Gomez de Silva, with a magnificent offering of jewels, of the value of 50,000 ducats, as a present to his royal bride. That day being Sunday, after mass he dined in public, and was waited upon by his newly-appointed English officers of the household, to the great chagrin of his Spanish attendants, most of whom were, according to the marriage treaty, obliged to return with the Spanish fleet. Don Philip courted popularity; he told his new attendants in Latin, that he was come to live among them like an Englishman; and in proof thereof, drank some ale for the first time, which he gravely commended as the wine of the country.

In the midst of a "cruel wind and down-pouring rain" on the Monday morning, the royal bridegroom and his suite mounted their steeds, and set out in grand state and solemn cavalcade to Winchester, where the queen and her court were to meet them. The earl of Pembroke had arrived the same morning as their escort, with two hundred and fifty cavaliers, superbly mounted,

dressed in black velvet, and wearing heavy gold chains. A party of a hundred archers, with their bows, were mounted on horseback, dressed in yellow cloth, striped with red velvet, and wearing cordons of white and crimson silk, being the colours of the prince. Four thousand spectators, variously mounted, whom curiosity had brought together, closed the procession.

Don Philip was, as usual, dressed in black velvet; but, on account of the heavy rain, he wore over all a red felt cloak, and a large black hat. When the cavalcade had progressed about two miles from Southampton, the prince met a gentleman, riding post, who presented him with a small ring, as a token from the queen, and prayed him, in her name, to advance no further. Philip, who did not very well understand his language, and knew the violent resistance the English had made to his espousing their queen, apprehended immediately that she meant to warn him of some impending danger; and calling Alva and Egmont apart, drew up by the roadside, to consult them, in consternation; when an English lord, seeing there was some misapprehension, immediately said, in French, "Sire, our queen lovingly greets your highness, and has merely sent to say, that she hopes you will not commence your journey to Winchester in such dreadful weather."

When the prince rightly comprehended the queen's message, he gallantly resolved to persevere in his journey, and his line of march again moved forward on the Winchester road; but did not proceed far, before another cavalier was encountered, bearing a long white wand in his hand, who, addressing the prince, in Latin, informed him, that "he had the command of the county," and entreated his leave to perform his office. This being granted, the gentleman turned his horse, and raising his wand on high, and taking off his cap, preceded the cavalcade, the rain pouring on his bare head the whole way, though the prince repeatedly entreated him to be covered.[1] About a mile from Winchester, two

[1] Philip's progress to Winchester, so rich in curious costume, is furnished by the Italian eye-witness, Baoardo. The prince seems to have encountered the sheriff of Hampshire in this very reverential cavalier.

noblemen from the queen came to meet the prince, attended by six of the royal pages, attired in cloth of gold, and mounted on great Flemish coursers, trapped with the same.

Although Southampton is but ten miles from Winchester, the cavalcade moved with such Spanish gravity and deliberation, that it was between six and seven o'clock before don Philip arrived at the city gate. "Where," says the Italian narrator, "eight first-rate officials were stationed, clothed in scarlet gowns, who swore fidelity to the prince."

These worthies were no other than the mayor and aldermen of Winchester, who presented don Philip with the keys of the city, which he returned. "A great volley of artillery was shot off as he entered the city, and twelve persons from the queen, dressed in red, with gold on their breasts, (probably beefeaters,) conducted him to a palace, not very superbly ornamented." It was, indeed, the dean of Winchester's house, where Philip sojourned till after his marriage. There the prince altered his dress, and prepared for his interview with the queen. He wore hose and nether-stocks, of white and silver, and a superb black velvet robe, bordered with diamonds; thus attired he went direct to the cathedral, where Gardiner received him, in full pontificals, accompanied by many priests, singing *Te Deum;* and after prayers, conducted him through the cloisters, to the dean's house."

The queen's first interview with her affianced husband, took place that evening, about ten o'clock, when don Philip was conducted privately to the bishop's palace. Mary received him "right lovingly," and conversed with him familiarly in Spanish, for about half an hour, when he went back to the deanery.[1]

The queen held a grand court at three o'clock the next afternoon, when she gave don Philip a public audience. He came on foot from the deanery, attended by the lord high steward, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Pembroke, and some of his Spanish grandees, with their wives. He was dressed in black and silver,

[1] Ralph Brooke, York herald.

and adorned with the insignia of the garter. The royal minstrels met him, and played before him; and the people shouted, "God save your grace!" He was thus conducted in great state to the hall of the bishop's palace, where the queen advanced as far as the entrance, to receive him, and kissed him in presence of the whole multitude. She led him to the presence chamber, where they both stood under the canopy of state, and conversed together before all the courtiers. At even-song he withdrew from the presence chamber, and attended service at the cathedral, from whence he was conducted by torch-light to his residence at the deanery.[1]

The morrow, being the 25th of July, and the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, had been appointed for the royal nuptials. A raised causeway, covered with red serge, leading to two thrones in the choir, had been prepared for the marriage procession. Queen Mary walked on foot from the episcopal palace, attended by her principal nobility and ladies—her train being borne by her cousin, Margaret Douglas, assisted by the chamberlain, sir John Gage. She met her bridegroom in the choir, and they took their seats in the chairs of state, an altar being erected between them. Gardiner came in great state, assisted by Bonner, bishop of London, and the bishops of Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, and Ely, with their crosiers borne before them.

Philip was attended to the altar by sixty Spanish grandees and cavaliers, among whom were Alva, Medina, Egmont, and Pescara. He was dressed in a robe of rich brocade, bordered with large pearls and diamonds; his trunk hose were of white satin, worked with silver. He wore a collar of beaten gold, full of inestimable diamonds, at which hung the jewel of the golden fleece; at his knee was the garter, studded with beautiful coloured gems.

The ceremony was preceded by a solemn oration, from Figueroa, regent of Naples, who declared—"that his imperial master, Charles V., having contracted a marriage between the queen of England and his chief jewel, being his son and heir, Philip, prince of Spain, in order to make the parties equal, had resigned his kingdom of

[1] Baoardo, collated with the York herald.

Naples, so that queen Mary married a king, and not a prince." Figueroa then asked, in a loud voice, "if there were any persons who knew any lawful impediment between the contracting parties; if so, they might then come forth, and be heard." The marriage, which was both in Latin and English, proceeded, till it came to the part of the ceremony where the bride is given. The question was then asked, and it seems to have been a puzzling one, not provided for—"Who was to give her?" When the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke, came forward, and gave her in the name of the whole realm. Upon which the people gave a great shout, and prayed God to send them joy. The wedding ring was laid on the book, to be hallowed. Some discussion had previously taken place in council, regarding this ring, which the queen decided, by declaring she would not have it adorned with gems, "for she chose to be wedded with a plain hoop of gold, like any other maiden." King Philip laid on the book three handfuls of fine gold coins, and some silver ones.[1] When the lady Margaret Douglas saw this, she opened the queen's purse, and her majesty was observed to smile on her, as she put the bridal gold within it.

Directly the hand of queen Mary was given to king Philip, the earl of Pembroke advanced, and carried a sword of state before the bridegroom, which he had hitherto kept out of sight. The royal pair returned hand in hand from the high altar. They seated themselves again in their chairs of state, where they remained till mass was concluded and their titles proclaimed in Latin and English; after which, sops and wine[2] were hallowed and served to them, of which they partook, and all their noble attendants. Don Philip then took

[1] The York herald only mentions the gold; the Italian narrator adds the silver, which was no doubt correct, as in the catholic ritual, to this day, the bridegroom presents the bride with gold and silver money. It is the York herald who has preserved the little by-scene between the queen and her cousin.

[2] The Italian says, biscuits and ipocras; he adds, that the bridegroom gave the queen the "kiss of peace" after the ceremony, "such being the custom of England;" but this salute was in all probability given to the bishop.

the queen's hand, and led her to the episcopal palace; both walked, when they returned from their marriage, under one canopy. The queen always took the right hand. The ceremonial in the cathedral lasted from eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon.

The queen was dressed at her marriage in the French style, in a robe richly brocaded on a gold ground, with a long train splendidly bordered with pearls and diamonds of great size. The large re-bras sleeves were turned up with clusters of gold set with pearls and diamonds. Her chaperon or coif was bordered with two rows of large diamonds. The close gown, or kirtle, worn beneath the robe was of white satin, wrought with silver. On her breast the queen wore that remarkable diamond of inestimable value, sent to her as a gift by king Philip whilst he was still in Spain, by the marquis de Los Naves. So far, the dress was in good taste, but the accession of scarlet shoes and brodequins, and a black velvet scarf, added to this costume by the royal bride, can scarcely be considered improvements. The chair on which queen Mary sat is still shewn at Winchester cathedral, and report says it was a present from Rome, and was blessed by the pope.

The hall of the episcopal palace in which the bridal banquet was spread, was hung with arras striped with gold and silk, it had a stately dais raised at the upper end, ascended by four steps. The seats for queen Mary and her spouse were placed on this, under one canopy, before which their dinner table was set. Below the dais were spread various tables, where the queen's ladies, the Spanish grandees, their wives, and the English nobility were feasted. Bishop Gardiner dined at the royal table, which was served with plate of solid gold; and a cupboard of nine stages full of gold vases and silver dishes was placed full in view, for ornament rather than use. In a gallery opposite, was placed a band of admirable musicians, who played a sweet concert till four heralds entered, attired in their regal mantles; and between the first and second courses pronounced a congratulatory Latin oration in the name of the realm, likewise an exordium in praise of holy matrimony. The

Winchester boys had written Latin epithalamiums which they recited, and were rewarded by the queen. After the banquet, king Philip returned thanks to the lords of the privy council and the other English nobility, and the queen spoke very graciously to the Spanish grandees and their noble ladies in their own language. The tables were taken up at six o'clock, and dancing commenced, but the whole gay scene concluded at nine o'clock, when the queen and king Philip retired from the ball.

While these grand state festivals were proceeding, private grudges and quarrels were going forward among her majesty's protestant and catholic attendants. The Hot Gospeller, Mr. Edward Underhill, whose lively journal gives the best idea of the interior of the palace during the reign of our first queen-regnant, was on duty in her presence chamber at Winchester, and performed his office of assisting in carrying up the dishes at the wedding banquet. He never chose to give up his post of guarding her person, though his adversary, Norreys, who was promoted to the place of queen's usher, again renewed his persecutions. A day or two after the royal marriage, Norreys came from his station at the door of the queen's private sitting room into the presence chamber, when the gentlemen-at-arms all made reverence to him, as his place required. He fixed his eyes on Edward Underhill, and asked him "What he did there?"

"Marry, sir!" replied the undaunted protestant, "what do you do here?"

"You are very short with me," observed Norreys.

"I will forbear," rejoined Underhill, "out of respect for the place you be in; if you were of the outer chamber, I would be shorter with you. You were the door-keeper when we waited at the queen's table. Your office is not to find fault with me for doing my duty. I am at this time appointed to serve her majesty by those who are in authority under her, who know me well."

"They shall know you better," returned his foe, "and the queen also."

Mr. Calvely, one of Underhill's comrades, brother to sir John Calvely of Cheshire, then interposed, saying—

"In good faith, Mr. Norreys, you do not well; this gentleman, our fellow, hath served queen Mary a long time; he has been ever ready to venture his life in her service, and at the last troubles was as forward as any one to guard her. He is now appointed at very great charges (as we all are) to serve her again. Methinks you do more than the part of a gentleman to seek to discharge him."

"Ye all hold together," growled Norreys.

"Else were we worse than beasts!" retorted Calvely.

And Master Norreys retreated, grumbling, to his post at the queen's door. If he ever carried his threats into execution of telling tales to her majesty of the valiant Hot Gospeller, it is certain that he never succeeded in injuring him.

The Spanish fleet sailed for the coast of Flanders the next day, having first landed eighty genets belonging to don Philip, of such perfect beauty that they could not be surpassed. A great number of Spaniards, to the amount of four thousand, who had intended to land in England with don Philip, were extremely disappointed at finding that their presence was forbidden in the island by the queen's marriage articles. Four or five hundred persons, among whom were a number of fools and buffoons belonging to the suites of the grandees of high rank immediately attending on don Philip, were permitted, however, to come on shore. This was the sole Spanish force that accompanied the queen's bridegroom.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER VI.

Queen Mary and her bridegroom visit Basing House—Leave Winchester for Windsor—Mary's interview with Elizabeth at Hampton Court—Opens parliament—Cardinal Pole received by the queen—They reconcile England with the pope—Queen's tournament and Christmas festivals—Her dreadful illness—Disappointment of offspring—Horrible persecutions—Continued illness of the queen—Scandals regarding king Philip—His departure from England—Queen's wretched state of health—Plots and disturbances—Mary pardons lord Bray at the suit of his lady—Mary visits her sister at Hatfield—Gives a fête and concert to Elizabeth at Richmond—Return of king Philip—Queen declares war with France—Philip again leaves England—Battle of St. Quintin—Dispute with king Philip regarding Elizabeth's marriage—Queen's letter to him—Philip sends to her his cousin the duchess of Lorraine—Queen Mary's jealousy and anger—She cuts to pieces the portrait of Philip—Declining health—Her personal appearance—Portraits—Loss of Calais—Her words concerning it—Intermittent fever—Her messages to Elizabeth—To cardinal Pole—Her death—Embalmed—Lies in state in St. James's chapel—Stately funeral—Requiem in Brussels cathedral—Will—Charities—Desires that her mother should be buried by her—Her motto.

QUEEN MARY and her spouse went to Basing House the morning after their marriage, and were splendidly entertained there by the lord treasurer Paulet, marquis of Winchester. They finally left Winchester within a week of her marriage, and went to Windsor Castle, where a grand festival of the Garter was held on Sunday, August 5th, in celebration of the admission of king Philip to the order. The following Tuesday was devoted to a species of hunting little practised in England: toils were

raised in Windsor Forest four miles in length, and a great number of deer slaughtered. The queen and her spouse removed to Richmond Palace, August the 9th, and stayed there till the 27th, when they embarked on the Thames, and rowed in great pomp to Southwark, where they landed at Gardiner's palace, and passing through Southwark Park to Suffolk Place, once the pleasant residence of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, they sojourned there for the night.[1]

At noon, next day, they crossed London Bridge on horseback, attended by a stately retinue of English nobles and Spanish grandees. They were received in the city with the usual display of pageantry; among which the circumstance most noted was, that a figure representing Henry VIII. held a book, as if in act of presentation to the queen, on which was inscribed "Verbum Dei." The queen was offended, and the words were obliterated so hastily with a painting brush, that the fingers of the figure were wiped out with them.

Philip brought over a quantity of bullion sufficient to fill ninety-seven chests, each chest being a yard and a quarter long. This treasure was piled on twenty carts; it was displayed with some ostentation on this occasion, in progress to the Tower to be coined. The citizens were much pleased with this replenishment to the exhausted and depreciated currency.

The queen, after holding her court at Whitehall, dismissed for a time the crowds of English nobility and gentry, who had assembled from all parts of the country to celebrate her marriage. It was the death of the duke of Norfolk which interrupted the nuptial festivities, since Mary ordered a court mourning for him,[2] "because," adds Heylin, "she loved him entirely." On occasion of this mourning she retired to Hampton Court, where she remained for some time in profound retirement with her husband. Here an important change took place in the customs of English royalty which gave mortal offence to the people. "Formerly," murmured the populace, "the gates of the palace where

[1] Holingshed. [2] Heylin's Reformation, p. 209.

the royal family resided were set open all day long, and our princes lived in public; but since the Spanish wedlock, Hampton Court gates are closed, and every man must give an account of his errand before entering."

It is a point of no little difficulty to ascertain the precise time when queen Mary was reconciled to her sister, since the whole tenour of the facts, and the chronological arrangement in which they are cast by general history, are totally at variance.

The difficulty seems to have arisen from Fox's assertion, that Elizabeth continued in hard durance, one twelvemonth longer than she really did. Recent discoveries indubitably prove that Mary permitted her sister to appear in state at the festivities of the ensuing Christmas of 1554. It is extremely improbable that such a step was taken previously to the private reconciliation of the royal sisters. We therefore venture to suggest that the following dialogue took place between queen Mary and the princess Elizabeth, at Hampton Court, in the autumn of 1554, instead of the spring of 1555, as usually asserted.

Queen Mary received the princess Elizabeth, who had been brought under a strong guard from Woodstock, in her bedchamber at Hampton Court, at ten o'clock at night. When the princess entered the queen's presence, she fell on her knees, and protested, with streaming eyes and in earnest language, her truth and loyalty to her sovereign majesty, let whosoever assert the contrary. Queen Mary replied, somewhat sharply—

"You will not confess your offence, I see, but rather stand stoutly on your truth. I pray God your truth may become manifest!"

"If it is not," said the princess, "I will look for neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands."

"Well, then," said the queen, "you stand so stiffly on your truth, belike you have been wrongfully punished?"

"I must not say so to your majesty," replied Elizabeth.

"But you will report so to others, it seemeth," rejoined Mary.

"No, an' please your majesty," replied the princess.

"I have borne, and must bear, the burden thereof; but I humbly beseech your grace's good opinion of me, as I am, and ever have been, your majesty's true subject."

The queen turned away with a half soliloquy in Spanish,—uttering, audibly, "God knoweth!"[1]

If the intercepted correspondence between Elizabeth and the French ambassador was at that moment in Mary's thoughts, she could scarcely say less. The story goes, that king Philip had interceded for Elizabeth; that he caused her to be sent for, that she might partake the marriage festivities, and that he was during this interview hidden behind the tapestry, to prevent his wife's harsh treatment of her sister. But those who know how eagerly the Spanish ambassador sought Elizabeth's life the preceding spring, will find some difficulty in believing that Philip was a better friend to her than the queen.[2]

The interview amicably terminated between the sisters, for the queen put on Elizabeth's finger a costly ring, as a pledge of amity; and Leti[3] adds, that she said impressively, "Whether you be guilty or innocent, I forgive you." The queen had given a ring at her accession, as a token to recall their love, if Elizabeth ever stood in danger. Elizabeth had sent it to her in the hour of her distress, at Whitehall. Mary had probably retained it till this instant.

The queen recommended sir Thomas Pope to her sister, as comptroller of her household. She mentioned him as a person of humanity, prudence, and altogether of such qualities as would render her home pleasant and happy; and the sequel proved that the queen really placed about her sister no gaoler, but a man of honour and good feelings. Whenever this celebrated interview took place, it is certain that, although most trying circumstances afterwards occurred, owing to Elizabeth's

[1] Fox, who implies that he had the incident from Elizabeth herself; likewise Heywood's Elizabeth.

[2] See the whole tenour of Renaud's Despatches, Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii.

[3] Gregorio Leti's life of queen Elizabeth, written from manuscripts in possession of Lord Aylesbury, reign of Charles II.

own imprudence in listening to fortunetellers,[1] and two or three dangerous plots were concocted among her servants, yet she never lost the privilege of access to her sister, or was again put under restraint.

The meeting of Mary's third parliament, Nov. 11, drew her from her autumnal retirement to her palace of Whitehall. Her procession to open it was an equestrian one of peculiar splendour. King Philip rode by her side, wearing his berret cap and black velvet doublet. A sword of state was borne before each, in token of their independent sovereignties. The queen was mounted on a trained courser, whose ample chest was decorated with rosettes and bands of gems, while a housing of cloth of gold descended below the saddle-step. The attitude of her equestrian portraits proves that she rode on the bench-side saddle, although Catherine de Medicis had already introduced the pommelled one now in use. She wore a small coif, a band of the most costly jewels passed over her head and clasped under the chin; the Spanish mantilla veil hung in broad lappets from the crown of her head to her waist. Her dress opened from the throat to the chest, with a very small ruff, called a partlet;[2] it shewed a carcanet of jewels round the throat, connected with a splendid owche and pear pearl, fastened on the chest. The sleeves slashed, and moderately full towards the elbow, were gathered at the wrist into ruffles and jewelled bracelets. The corsage of the dress, tight and tapering, was girt at the waist with a cordeliere of gems. The skirt of the robe was open from the waist, but closed at pleasure by aglets, or clasps, studded with jewels. Such was the riding dress of ladies of rank[3] before the monstrous farthingale was introduced, even on horseback.

[1] Tytler's State Papers, Edward and Mary, vol. ii. The curious letter and examination of Dr. Dee and other conjurers, for visiting Elizabeth, and casting her nativity and that of the queen and Philip, which will be dwelt on in her succeeding biography. Dee suffered confinement as a coadjutor of Parker and other conspirators, servants of Elizabeth.

[2] Called so, because it parted the little round face-ruff, which could be opened or closed at pleasure with aglets, or hooks and eyes.

[3] Mary is thus represented on her great seal. Mr. Planché has given an equestrian figure of her, in some respects similar; a picture of Marguerite of Savoy, daughter of Francis I., is still at Versailles, in costume alike in some particulars.

The queen was extremely urgent with her parliament to restore the lands which had been seized by her father from the church, and distributed among the partisans of his measures. Had the English parliaments been as firm in the defence of the protestant faith, and of the lives of their fellow-creatures, as they were of these ill-gotten goods, the annals of the first queen-regnant would have been clear of all stain of persecution. But the reckless facility with which they passed laws for burning their protestant fellow-subjects, forms a strong contrast to their earnestness, when a hint glanced against the mammon they really worshipped; many struck their hands on their swords, affirming, with oaths, "that they would never part with their abbey lands while they could wield a weapon." Which resolution being told the queen, she said, "she must content herself with setting them a good example, by devoting the lands she found in possession of the crown to the support of learning, and the relief of the most destitute poor." Her council represented, that if she gave these revenues away, she could not support the splendour of her crown. She replied—

"That she preferred the peace of her conscience to ten such crowns as England."[1]

Mary knew that cardinal Pole was on his way to England, with authority from pope Julius to reconcile the country to the see of Rome. He likewise brought a bull, confirming these worshippers of their own interest in possession of their spoils. She had sent her trusty knight, sir Edward Hastings, who was the cardinal's nephew, as his escort to England, accompanied by lord Paget. Sir William Cecil, (afterwards lord Burleigh,) attached himself as a volunteer agent on this mission of inviting the papal supremacy into this country.[2]

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii., p. 296. The chronology of this event has been misstated. It must have occurred before the publication of pope Julius III.'s politic confirmation of the monastic grants to their holders, proclaimed by cardinal Pole, on his arrival, because the queen would not have contested the pope's behest, after it was made known.

[2] See the curious discoveries of Mr. Tytler, in his researches at the State Paper Office, Edward and Mary, occupying the latter part of the last volume.

Thus affording an additional instance to the many furnished by history, that leaders of persecutions have been almost invariably renegades. But the ardent aspirations of this man of many religions for office were utterly slighted by queen Mary, for which he bore her memory a burning grudge.

The queen bestowed on cardinal Pole every mark of honour, on his arrival in England. He came by water from Gravesend; and fixing the large silver cross, emblem of his legantine authority, in the prow of his state barge, its progress was surveyed with mixed emotions by the citizens, who lined the banks of the Thames as he was rowed to Whitehall. Bishop Gardiner received him at the water-gate, king Philip at the principal entrance, and the queen herself at the head of the stairs.

Festivities on a grand scale succeeded his arrival. A tournament was held—the last in England—which was attended by royal and noble foreigners. It was published in the queen's presence chamber,[1] to take place November 25, 1554. Her majesty distributed the prizes with her own hand; and king Philip was one of the combatants. The first prize Mary gave was for the best armour and the most gallant entry. King Philip was pronounced only second best in this case; and the queen bestowed her prize of a rich owche on Don Frederic de Toledo. The candidates for the sword prize are thus described:—"Sir George Howard (brother to the unfortunate queen Katharine Howard) fought very well; don Adrian Garcias better; and sir John Perrot best of all; and to him the queen gave in reward a ring set with a fine diamond.

Public report insisted that sir John Perrot was the queen's half brother. He was a knight of gigantic stature, and bore a strong resemblance to Henry VIII. He was a noted character in the reign of Elizabeth. At the pike in rank, Thomas Percy (afterwards restored by queen Mary, as seventh earl of Northumberland) acquitted himself right valiantly; don Carlo di Sanguine, with better fortune: but don Ruy Gomez best of

[1] Strawberry-hill MS., from Harleian collection.

all; and to him the queen's majesty gave a ring. The last course was a tourney with the foil. Lord William Howard, the high admiral, fought with high commendation; the marquis of Torre Mayore exceeded him; but king Philip surpassed all; to whom queen Mary gave, nothing loth, the prize of a diamond ring.

The queen was extremely ill on the day she had appointed to introduce the mission of cardinal Pole to parliament; and as she could not go, as usual, to Westminster, she was forced to take the privileges of an invalid, and convene her peers and commons in her great presence chamber, at the palace of Whitehall. Here she was carried to her throne, attended by all her ladies.[1] King Philip was seated under the same canopy, but at the queen's left hand. A seat of dignity was placed for the cardinal at the queen's right hand, but at a due distance from the royal canopy.

The lord chancellor Gardiner commenced the business of the day with this quaint address:—

"My lords of the upper house, and my *maisters* of the nether house here present, the right reverend father in God, my lord cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*, is come from the apostolic see of Rome as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm. Which ambassade (their majesties' pleasure is) to be signified by his own mouth, you giving attentive and inclinable ears to his grace, who is now ready to declare the same."

Cardinal Pole then stood up, and, in a speech of considerable length and eloquence, recapitulated his own sufferings and exile; and with the ingenuity of a great barrister pleading a cause, uttered everything that could be urged in favour of the Roman-catholic side of the question. He mentioned the queen with emotion; declaring "the time was when, on her grace's part, there was nothing but despair; for numbers conspired against her, and policies devised to destroy her right; yet she, a virgin, helpless and unarmed, prevailed and had the victory; and her faith, like a lamp assaulted by adverse winds, through a dark and stormy night, yet kept alight, to the hopes of many, and now shed a bright radiance." In the course of the speech, the cardinal hinted that he

[1] Holingshed and Grafton.

had power from pope Julius III. to absolve the English, without previous restitution of the church lands distributed by Henry VIII.

The immediate consequence of this understanding was, that the houses of parliament, by general consent,[1] prepared a petition to the throne, praying for reconciliation with the see of Rome.

The next morning the queen, her ladies, king Philip, and the cardinal, took their places as before, when the peers and commons, led by Gardiner, again entered the presence chamber, and presented the petition of parliament to the royal pair. Philip and Mary rose, and doing reverence to the cardinal, delivered this petition to him; who received it with glad emotion at their hands. He addressed a few words of thanks to God, and then ordered his commission from the pope to be read aloud. This ended, the peers and commons fell on their knees, and the cardinal pronounced solemnly his absolution and benediction. The whole assembly then followed the queen and her spouse to St. Stephen's chapel, where *Te Deum* was sung, which ended the ceremony.

Queen Mary was struck with a relapse of illness during this solemnity, so agitating to her. She, however, trusted that her indisposition was owing to her situation, which promised (she persuaded herself) an heir to her crown.

Her health rallied sufficiently to permit her appearance at the Christmas festival, which was kept with more than usual splendour, on account of her marriage and the reconciliation to Rome.

Just at this time the queen expressed her willingness to pardon sir John Cheke, if Gardiner would permit her. His offence was not a small one, for he had writ-

[1] Parl. History, vol. iii., p. 322, from which, with George Ferrers for costume, this singular scene is taken. The proportion of the protestants to the catholics in England, in the reign of Edward VI., is thus mentioned in a confidential letter of lord Paget to the protector Somerset, July 7th, 1549:—"The use of the old religion is forbidden by law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven or twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly, to please them in whom they see the power resteth." Strype's Records, vol. xi., p. 110.

ten the letter from the council, which branded the queen with illegitimacy in the coarsest terms, and tauntingly advised her to offer her homage to queen Jane. It was the office of sir William Cecil to write all letters of council, but he shifted this on poor sir John Cheke, with a dexterity on which he afterwards greatly plumed himself.[1]

In one of sir John Cheke's application letters to Gardiner, from Padua, dated December, 1554,[2] he makes use of these words:—"I hear queen Mary's noble highness, pitying the extreme state of my case, hath referred unto your lordship to take order in my matters, after what sort your lordship listeth. Therefore, all now lieth in your hand, that either of this endless misery you may ease me, or else cast me into extreme beggary. I envy not others to whom the queen's grace was merciful, but I crave the same mercy in a like cause."

The festivities on Christmas eve were peculiarly splendid; here it was evident that the reconciliation was so complete between the queen and her sister Elizabeth, that this princess was not only permitted to join in them, but to take her place at the banquet, as the heir presumptive of the realm.[3] The great hall of the palace was lighted with a thousand lamps of various colours artificially disposed. Here queen Mary, her husband, and a splendid assembly of English, Flemish,

[1] See his curious narrative, published in Tytler's State Papers, 2nd vol., Edward and Mary.

[2] Nugæ Antiqua, by sir John Harrington.

[3] Both Miss Aiken and Mr. Pyne, with several preceding authors, suppose this Christmas festival to have taken place at Hampton Court; but the minute diary of Holingshed (furnished by George Ferrers, an eye-witness) of the occupations of the splendid court that surrounded Mary and Philip at this very time, proves that the scene *must* have been at Whitehall Palace, or the Whitehall presence chamber at Westminster Palace. This contemporary statement is confirmed by a MS., printed by Horace Walpole at Strawberry-hill, where it is evident the great passage-of-arms mentioned here was proclaimed at Westminster, in the queen's chamber, and that it took place, *not* at *Hampton*, but Westminster. This likewise proves, by analogy, that the celebrated interview of reconciliation between queen Mary and her sister, *must* have previously taken place, during the bridal retirement of the former, at Hampton Court, in the autumn of 1554. Is it not an absurdity to suppose, that Elizabeth appeared in public in her place, and was treated with distinction as second royal personage in England, *before* the reconciliation with the queen?

and Spanish nobles, supped. The princess Elizabeth sat at the same table with her sister, *next* the royal canopy, called by the chronicler the cloth of estate. Elizabeth likewise was present at the grand tourney that took place five days afterwards, according to the proclamation the queen had made on the arrival of the prince of Savoy.

The earl of Devonshire had been released from Fotheringay Castle, and was introduced at court, with the honours due to his rank, at these Christmas festivities. He expressed a wish to travel, that he might improve his mind, and was offered by the queen an honourable introduction to the emperor's court.[1] His flight from the battle of Charing Cross, conduct unheard of in the annals of his race, perhaps made his residence at the English court unpleasant to him; want of physical courage being deemed a greater disgrace than all the murders and treasons committed by his great-uncle, Richard III.

Queen Mary's court, at this season, was the resort of men whose undying names fill the history of that stirring century, whose renown, either for good or evil, is familiar in memory as household words. There met together, in the palace halls of St. James or Whitehall, the ministers or victims of Philip II.'s long career of vigorous tyranny, while they were yet in early manhood, just starting for their devious course of life. There appeared, in all the grace of manly beauty, Alva the Terrific, whose fine person disguised a disposition of demoniac cruelty, afterwards exercised on the unfortunate protestants of the Low Countries: by his side was the magnificent Fleming, Count Egmont, and his fellow patriot, count Horne, afterwards the resisters and victims of the cruelties and despotism with which Philip and Alva desolated the protestant cities of Flanders. There might be seen, then a youthful gallant, a contender in

[1] He left England in the spring of 1555. An affectionate letter is extant from him to queen Mary, giving her an account of his interview with the emperor in Flanders. It appears the Courtenays possessed a seat at Kew, for the mother of Courtenay dated her letters to her son from that place.

tournaments for ladies' smiles and royal prizes, the grandee Ruy Gomez, afterwards the celebrated prime minister of Spain; and, as if to complete the historic group, there arrived soon after Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the suitor of Elizabeth, and the future conqueror at St. Quintin. Last and greatest, came that illustrious prince of Orange, who wrested Holland from the grasp of Philip II. The queen sent her lord privy seal to welcome the princes of Savoy and Orange, at Gravesend; and they came through London bridge, to Whitehall, in the royal barges, and landed at Whitehall palace, January 9th, 1555,[1] where brilliant festivities were at that moment held.

All this splendour soon closed in the darkest gloom. The queen's health had been sinking since November set in; yet, inspired by her illusive hopes of offspring, she kept up her spirits with more than usual energy. She was carried to her throne in the house of lords, January 16th, for the purpose of dissolving parliament, when she went through the ceremony of sceptring[2] those demoniac acts passed by her third parliament, which let loose the fiends of persecution over her country. A singular act was likewise passed, declaring it treason to pray publicly for her death, which it seems was done in some meetings of protestants; but a clause was added, probably by her desire, that if penitence was expressed, the parties were only to be obnoxious to minor punishment, awarded by their judge.[3]

The two houses had joined in a petition to Philip, requesting, that if it should happen to the queen otherwise than well in her travail, he would take upon him the government of the realm, during the minority of her child, with its guardianship. Lord Paget had raised an objection to this measure, but the friends of Philip declared, he had protested on his honour, that he would resign the government when his child came of age. "Ay," replied Paget, "but should he not, who is to

[1] Holingshed, whose chronicle is drawn from the narrative of an eye witness, George Ferrers, master of the revels to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

[2] Parl. Hist., vol. iii., p. 332. For her illness, see Holingshed.

[3] Parl. Hist., p. 331.

sue the bond?"—a witticism taken extremely ill by the king and queen. But the act was passed, notwithstanding lord Paget's opposition, and it certainly threw great power into the hands of Philip, during the queen's long illness.

Her hope of bringing offspring, was utterly delusive; the increase of her figure was but symptomatic of dropsy, attended by a complication of the most dreadful disorders which can afflict the female frame, under which every faculty of mind and body sunk, for many months. At this time commenced that horrible persecution of the protestants, which has stained her name to all futurity. But if eternal obloquy was incurred by the half-dead queen, what is the due of the parliaments which legalized the acts of cruelty committed in her name? Shall we call the house of lords *bigotted*, when its majority, which legalized this wickedness, were composed of the same individuals which had planted, very recently, the protestant church of England?[1] Surely not, for the term implies honest, though wrong-headed, attachment to *one* religion. Shall we suppose, that the land lay groaning under the iron sway of a standing army; or, that the Spanish bridegroom had introduced foreign forces? But reference to facts will prove, that even Philip's household servants were sent back, with his fleet; and a few valets, fools, and fiddlers, belonging to the grandees, his bridesmen, were all the forces permitted to land—no very formidable band to Englishmen. The queen had kept her word rigorously, in declaring, that no alteration should be made in religion, without universal consent. Three times in two years had she sent the house of commons back to their constituents; although they were most compliant in

[1] The house of lords, in the 16th century, was composed of fewer members than our present queen's privy council. A numerous legislative nobility, it may be inferred, from the history of the Tudors, is far more favourable to civil and religious liberty. Many of the haughty ancient nobility, who controlled the crown in the preceding age, were cut off by Henry VIII., and their places supplied by *parvenues*, the menial servants of the royal household, raised by caprice, whose fathers had been mace-bearers to lord-mayors, heralds, lower limbs of the law, &c., proper candidates for the lower house, if they won their way by ability, but awkward members of a house of peers, then amounting to but fifty laymen.

every measure relative to her religion. If she had bribed one parliament, why did she not keep it sitting during her short reign? If her parliaments had been honest as herself, her reign would have been the pride of her country, instead of its reproach; because, if they had done their duty, in guarding their fellow-creatures from bloody penal laws regarding religion, the queen, by her first regal act, in restoring the ancient free constitution of the great Plantagenets, had put it out of the power of her government to take furtive vengeance on *any* individual who opposed it. She had exerted all the energy of her great eloquence, to impress on the minds of her judges, that they were to sit as "indifferent umpires between herself and her people." She had no standing army, to awe parliaments—no rich civil list, to bribe them. By restoring the great estates of the Howard, the Percy, and many other victims of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s regency; by giving back the revenues of the plundered bishoprics, and the church lands, possessed by the crown, she reduced herself to poverty as complete as the most enthusiastic lover of freedom could desire. But her personal expenditure was extremely economical, and she successfully struggled with poverty, till her husband involved England in a French war.

The fact, of whether the torpid and half-dead queen was the instigator of a persecution, the memory of which curdles the blood with horror, at this distance of time, is a question of less moral import, at the present day, than a clear analyzation of the evil with which selfish interests had infected the legislative powers of our country. It was in vain that Mary almost abstained from creation of peers, and restored the ancient custom of annual parliaments;[1] the majority of the persons composing the houses of peers and commons were dishonest, indifferent to all religions, and willing to establish the most opposing rituals, so that they might retain their grasp on the accursed thing with which their very souls were corrupted—for corrupted they were, though not by the unfortunate queen. The church lands, with which

[1] Drake's Parliamentary History.

Henry VIII. had bribed his aristocracy, titled and untitled, into co-operation with his enormities, both personal and political, had induced national depravity.

The leaders of the Marian persecution, Gardiner and Bonner, were of the apostate class of persecutors. "Flesh bred in murder," they had belonged to the government of Henry VIII., which sent the zealous Roman-catholic and the pious protestant to the same stake. For the sake of worldly advantage, either of ambition or gain, Gardiner and Bonner had, for twenty years, promoted the burning or quartering of the advocates of papal supremacy; they now turned with the tide, and burnt with the same degree of conscientiousness the opposers of papal supremacy.

The persecution appears to have been greatly aggravated by the caprice of the private vengeance of these prelates, for a great legalist of our times, who paid unprejudiced attention to the facts, has thus summed up the case:—"Of fourteen bishoprics, the catholic prelates used their influence so successfully, as altogether to prevent bloodshed in nine, and to reduce it within limits in the remaining five. Bonner, 'whom all generations shall call bloody,' raged so furiously in the diocese of London, as to be charged with burning half the martyrs in the kingdom."[1]

Cardinal Pole, the queen's relative and familiar friend, declined all interference with these horrible executions: he considered his vocation was the reformation of manners; he used to blame Gardiner, for his reliance on the arm of flesh, and was known to rescue from Bonner's crowded piles of martyrs the inhabitants of his own district.[2] It is more probable that the queen's private opinion leant to her cousin, who had retained the religion she loved unchanged, than to Gardiner, who had been its persecutor; but Gardiner was armed with the legislative powers of the kingdom, unworthy as its time-serving legislators were to exercise them. Yet all ought not to be included in one sweeping censure: a noble minority of good men, disgusted at the detestable penal

[1] Hist. of England, by sir James Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 328.
[2] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii.

laws which lighted the torturing fires for the protestants, seceded bodily from the house of commons, after vainly opposing them. This glorious band, for the honour of human nature, was composed of catholics as well as protestants; it was headed by the great legalist, serjeant Plowden,[1] a catholic so firm, as to refuse the chancellorship, when persuaded to take it by queen Elizabeth, because he would not change his religion. This secession is the first indication of a principle of merciful toleration to be found among any legislators in England. Few were the numbers of these good men,[2] and long it was before their principles gained ground. For truly the world had not made sufficient advance in Christian civilization at that time to recognise any virtue in religious toleration.

One of Mary's earliest cares had been to provide a series of orthodox masses for the soul of her father; and for this purpose she wished to appropriate certain rectorial tithes belonging to Kendal church, then in posses-

[1] When Francis Plowden published his History of Ireland, sir Philip Musgrave entered into some strictures on it. He was answered by the author, who quoted a letter of queen Elizabeth, offering the chancellorship to his ancestor, if he would abjure his religion. Fuller, our church historian, a man as honest as himself, is enthusiastic in the praise of this noble-minded lawyer, who is, perhaps, a still finer specimen of human nature than sir Thomas More himself, since he was so far in advance of his age, as to have understood that religious toleration was a virtue. Camden, another honest man, speaks with delight of Plowden. "How excellent a medley is made," says he, "when honesty and ability meet in a man of his profession!" He was treasurer of the Temple in 1572, when that magnificent hall was builded, he being a great advancer thereof. His monument is to be seen in the Temple church close by, at the north-east of the choir, lying along, with his hands in the attitude of supplication; he is represented in his coif and gown, and a little ruff about his neck. He died Feb. 6, 1584.

[2] They were thirty-seven in number. See Parliamentary History vol. iii., 333, where the names of all these intrepid members of parliament may be read. Good Christians they were, though different denominations of religion were found in their ranks. Some of their descendants are catholics to this day, as the Plowdens; some are protestants of our church, as the descendants of Rous, member for Dunwich. The humane seceders from parliament were punished for the desertion of their seats by fine, imprisonment, and other Star-chamber inflictions, and, (what does not appear so very unreasonable,) by *loss of their parliamentary wages*. The secession took place twice. Sir Edward Coke has preserved some particulars relating to it;—he was the last man who would have followed such an example.

sion of the crown. She consulted her ecclesiastic confidants on the matter; but they assured her that the pope would never permit the endowments of a parish to be appropriated to the assistance of so determined an enemy of the church as Henry VIII. She, in the hope that her father's soul was not wholly beyond the reach of intercession, presented the advowson to a college he had re-founded at Cambridge, saying, "that as his benefaction to this college was the best thing he had done for himself, the best thing she could do, to shew her duty, was to augment its revenues for his sake."[1] Among the popular accusations against Mary, is a very terrible one, no other than that she instigated an ecclesiastical council to exhume her father's bones, to be burnt for heresy. At the very time Mary is represented as encouraging such parricidal insults on her father's body, she was occupied in fond, vain solicitude, for the comfort of his soul; and was actually sparing endowments from her poverty, in hopes that his state might be ameliorated. Dr. Weston, whose name has been already mentioned, was the author of this scandal; and Fox himself owns, that his motive for promulgating it was, because cardinal Pole insisted on suspending him from his functions (in the queen's chapel), on account of his immoral life. Mary, of course, acquiesced in this decree, or at least did not interfere to prevent it.

Weston was one of the furious persecutors, of the Bonner and Gardiner class; a good Benedictine historian records with disgust a repartee of this bad man, in reply to one of the protestant martyrs, who said, in answer to his accusations of heterodoxy—

"We have the word."

"Ay," replied the persecutor: "but we have the sword."

The proto-martyrs of the protestant church of England were men of blameless lives and consistent conduct; their leader was prebend Rogers, of St. Paul's, who was burnt at Smithfield, February 4th, 1555. The same week were

[1] This fact is told nearly in the words of Dr. Southey: although he does not give his authorities, he is too famous a church antiquarian to be doubted.

burnt, Saunders, rector of Allhallows, at Coventry; Dr. Rowland Taylor,[1] at Hadleigh; and bishop Hooper, at Gloucester. All were offered their lives, as the price of apostasy; but all remained firm in their faith. The martyrdom of bishop Hooper was a peculiar instance of ingratitude in Mary's government; for his loyalty to her had been as firm as his adherence to his church. He wrote a narrative of his conduct, in which he says, with naive simplicity, "When queen Mary's fortunes were at the worst, I rode myself from place to place (as is well known), to win and stay the people for her party. And whereas when another was proclaimed (lady Jane Gray), I preferred our queen, notwithstanding the proclamations. I sent horses in both shires (Gloucester and Worcester), to serve her in great danger, as sir John Talbot, and William Lygon, esq., can testify."

At the end of the week of crime,[2] which saw the sufferings of these four good men, Alphonso di Castro, a Franciscan friar, confessor to king Philip, preached before the court a sermon, inveighing against the wickedness of burning them; he boldly declared the truth, that the English bishops learned not in scripture to burn any one for their conscience' sake. This truly christian sermon produced an order from court, whether from the queen, or her husband, is not known, to stop the burnings for upwards of five weeks, which raised hopes of future clemency, but in vain; for at the lowest computation, above two hundred human creatures perished, before the persecution and Mary's life ceased together. In February, 1555, Christian III., king of Denmark, wrote an excellent letter to queen Mary, claiming bishop Coverdale, the translator of the English Bible, as his subject. Thus, to the joy of all humane persons, was a good and learned man delivered from a dreadful death.

So much ridicule has been cast on the mistake made in the queen's situation, that no person has asked the obvious question of—Who governed England, during

[1] It is not generally known that bishop Jeremy Taylor, one of the greatest literary ornaments of our church, was grandson to this admirable man.

[2] Feb. 10th, 1555. See Fox's Martyrs, part ii., p. 145.

the time which embraced the commencement of the protestant persecution, and her violent illness? How violent that illness was, may be learned from the testimony of the Venetian ambassador, Michele.[1] "From the time of her first affliction,[2] she was a prey to the severest headaches, her head being frightfully swelled; she was likewise subject to perpetual attacks of hysteria, which other women exhale by tears and piercing cries." From this notice may be implied, that the wretched queen still retained sufficient command of herself to suppress all audible plaints, as unbecoming her royal station. Who can, however, believe, that a woman in this state of mortal suffering was capable of governing a kingdom, or that she was accountable for anything done in it? Fox, in his narrative of the sufferings of the protestant martyrs, whenever the queen is mentioned, really confirms the description of Michele; sometimes he reports she laid weeks without speaking, as one dead, and more than once the rumour went that she had died in childbed.

The females of her household and her medical attendants still kept up the delusive hope, that her accouchement was at hand. Prayers were put up for her safe delivery, in May, 1555; and circulars were written (similar to those prepared at the birth of queen Elizabeth and Edward VI.), in which blanks were left for dates, and for the sex of the royal offspring. The news was actually carried to Norwich and Flanders, that a prince was born, and some public rejoicings made in consequence. She continued in a deplorable state of health throughout the summer, and was advised to remove, for the air of the country. This removal is thus minutely described by Strype's MS. chronicler:—July 21, 1555, the queen removed from St. James's Palace in the fields; passing through Whitehall and the park, she took her barge at Whitehall stairs, to Lambeth,

[1] MS. Lansdowne, p. 840 A, folio 157, British Museum.

[2] Her illness commenced with redoubled violence at its usual time—the fall of the leaf. The busy and brilliant scenes which succeeded each other the same autumn, greatly aggravated it, so that she never regained her health.

my lord cardinal's house; there she mounted into her chariot, and rode through St. George's fields to Newington, and over Newington fields to Eltham Palace, where she arrived at five in the afternoon. Cardinal Pole, lord Pembroke, lord Montague, and many more of her court, following on horseback, and a vast conflux of people to see her grace, above ten thousand. This seems her first appearance since her illness.

Whilst Mary laid between life and death, only animated by a hope which every day became fainter, the conduct of her young husband was by no means edifying to her court. Fortunately the queen had chosen maids of honour, whose correctness of life was unimpeachable, who were not only ladies of approved virtue, but ready to do battle, if any audacious offender offered an incivility. Of this praiseworthy spirit, the beautiful lady Magdalen Dacre, who married, in the next reign, viscount Montague, afforded a signal instance.[1] One day, as she was at her toilette, king Philip, who had observed a small window which lighted her dressing-room, from a corridor at Hampton Court, contrived to open it far enough to put in his arm; when the fair maid of honour, justly indignant at a liberty she never encouraged, took up a staff which stood apropos in a corner, and gave the intruding arm so sound a rap, that Philip was glad to draw it back in a hurry, and to make a speedy retreat. He took no offence at this specimen of an English lady's spirit, but was ever afterwards observed to treat the heroine of the staff with remarkable deference. The fair Dacre was of so stately a presence, that she towered above all the ladies of the court in height; she was maid of honour afterwards to queen Elizabeth, but was accustomed to speak with infinite scorn of the immorality of her court, when compared to that of queen Mary. When Philip found that the ladies of his wife's household were too respectable to give the least encouragement to his advances, it is affirmed that he formed disreputable acquaintances with females of low condition; at least, such is the testimony of a contem-

[1] Life of Magdalen Dacre, viscountess of Montague, by R. Smith.

porary pamphlet, published for the purpose of inflaming the English against the Spanish influence in the privy council.

This singular pamphlet[1] is affirmed to be written by John Bradford, afterwards martyred for religion, but the tenour of it is such, that good proof ought to be afforded that Bradford really wrote it, before it is seriously attributed to him, so completely is it at dissonance with his venerated character. Whoever wrote it, the whole may be considered as a collection of the popular reports afloat concerning king Philip. The author accounts for his knowledge of the king's conduct as follows:—"Ye would say, what could this fellow hear and see? In truth I was chamberlain to one of the privy council, and with all diligence gave myself to write and read Spanish, which once attained, I kept secret from my master and fellow-servants, because I might be trusted in my master's closet or study, where I might read daily such writing as I saw daily brought into the council chamber; which thing I did as opportunity served. I saw certain letters sent from the emperor half a year before king Philip left England, wherein was contained these secrets—'That king Philip should make his excuses to queen Mary, that he would go to see his father in Flanders, promising to return immediately. The good, simple queen is so jealous of my son (I term it as the letters doth), we shall make her agree to all our requests before his return, or else keep him here exercised in our affairs.' No man," continues this paper, "can think evil of the queen, though she be somewhat moved when things are beaten into her head by her gentlewomen." This was the idea of her adopting her husband as heir of England,[2] to the exclusion of Elizabeth. "God is my witness, that my heart will not suffer me to declare the vile reports that I have heard the Spaniards speak against the queen; and yet her grace taketh them for her faithful friends." He goes on to draw a laughable picture of what the English

[1] Memorials, vol. ii. Original Papers, p. 344, from Fox's MSS. Fox did not use the document.

[2] By descent from the legitimate daughter of John of Gaunt.

court will be, if the Spaniards have entire rule in England:—"The court shall be kept more like a hostelry or tavern than a noble house; let them report that have been at Brussels, at the emperor's court, where is to be sold both wine and beer out of the emperor's cellar, as at any vintner's in the city. Yea, and the best of your lordships shall never be trusted to stay at home, but shall have to wait on king Philip abroad, and be glad to lie in a victualling house, where ye shall think to fare well if ye have half a lean roasted capon to dinner, and as much to supper, a pint of thin wine and water, or else half a loin of lean mutton, a pig's pettitoe, and half a dozen green salads; then will ye say, 'Would to God we had kept the crown for the right heir!' But peradventure, her grace the queen thinketh king Philip will keep her more company, and love her the better, if she will give him the crown."

A ribald rhyme is then quoted, alluding to one of Philip's supposed intrigues; it seems part of a ballad of no great edification, saying that the king liked

> "The baker's daughter, in her russet gown,
> Better than queen Mary, without her crown."

"The council of Spain," continues the author, "purposeth to establish other nations, and to appoint in England a viceroy, with an army of Spanish soldiers, and let the queen live at her beads, like a good ancient lady; for the king, he likes better Antwerp, where he may go mumming and masking, yea, even in the holy time of Lent, night after night. I will tell you a true tale, in which the Spaniards glory." He then proceeds to tell a long story, of the king and his noble attendants disguising themselves in women's apparel, and joining a company of merchants' fair wives at Antwerp, who were met together at the accouchement of one of their number, and that he shared in the gossip festival at the birth of the little Fleming, and assisted in the good woman's chamber. This "true tale" concluded with an apology, which, indeed, it needed:—"I would not have written this, had not the good bishop of Carlisle been checked in his sermon, for he desired king Philip to leave his loath-

some conduct, and keep to his own wife."[1] Not one word of virtuous sympathy is there in behalf of the suffering protestants, neither does it accuse Mary of the least participation in the cruelties then transacting; on the contrary, the author's tone is that of compliance with the prevailing religion.

This tract seems to have been published soon after king Philip's departure from England, which took place September, 1555, being occasioned by an event which filled all Europe with astonishment. This was the abdication of his father, the emperor Charles, who, tormented with the gout, and weary of the cares of sovereignty, summoned his son to receive the resignation of his hereditary sceptres. The queen had, in September, somewhat recovered, owing to the sagacity of an Irish physician, who ventured to pronounce a true opinion of her case, and apply proper remedies for her agonizing maladies.[2] Mary then moved in state, by water, from Hampton Court to Greenwich Palace, from whence king Philip embarked, to receive the Spanish sceptre.

For a few afternoons, the queen struggled to pay the attention to business she had formerly done, but her health gave way again in the attempt, and she was seen no more at council.[3] With her married life the independence of her reign ceased; from whatever cause, whether owing to her desperate state of health, or from her idea of wifely duty, Philip, whether absent or present, guided the English government. When he left England, the queen desired cardinal Pole to make minutes of the king's last injunctions for the privy council, and they are still preserved in his hand-writing.[4] In another privy council journal extant, the English government, consisting of Gardiner, Winchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Paget, and Petre, and the bishops of Ely and Rochester,[5] gave

[1] It is evident this tract was printed, since it begins with the words—"Though it be never so dangerous to me to set this little treatise abroad."

[2] Ware's Annals, p. 234.

[3] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii.

[4] This is an additional proof that king Philip governed England at his pleasure. See, likewise, the minute journal rendered to him by the privy council, printed from State Paper Office, by Mr. Tytler, Edward and Mary, vol. ii., p. 483, dated at this time, September, 1555.

[5] Burnet, Ref., vol. iii. Records, p. 256.

Philip, as king, minute accounts of their proceedings, ecclesiastical and domestic. He wrote his mind on the opposite column with no more recognition of his wife's authority than was observed by Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York, and he very coolly, in his own name, orders twelve ships of the English fleet to escort his abdicated father to Spain, without the ceremony of asking the leave of their royal mistress. These documents afford incontestable proof that Philip of Spain, not Mary of England, was the reigning sovereign, after their hands were united. If this had not been the case, how could the truthful Fuller, the protestant historian of the church, who lived too near the times of queen Mary to be deceived, thus speak of her?—"She had been a worthy princess, if as little cruelty had been done under her as *by* her. She hated to equivocate, and always was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or conduct for fear or flattery."

"In the time of queen Mary," says a minute of council, quoted by Strype, "after the king of Spain was her husband, nothing was done in England but with the privity and directions of the said king's ministers." Sir Thomas Smith, in an oration recommending single life to princes (by which he means queens-regnant), traces all the cruelty of Mary's reign to her marriage.

This view of the subject is borne out by the contemporary biographer of Fox, the martyrologist, who calls queen Mary "a woman every way excellent while she followed her own inclination." It is an historical mistake to suppose that Philip II. had no power in the government of England; there was none legally given him by parliament, but at the time of the queen's dreadful illness he possessed himself of it.

Although every generous feeling is naturally roused against the horrid cruelties perpetrated in her name, yet it is unjust and ungrateful to mention her maiden reign with unqualified abhorrence; for if the tyrannical laws instituted by her father had remained a few years more in force, the representative government of England would gradually have withered under the terrors of imprisonments and executions without impartial trial, and regal despotism would have been as successfully esta-

blished here as it was in France and Spain by the descendants of Henry VIII.'s associates, Francis I. and Charles V. This change arose from the queen's own ideas of rectitude,[1] for the majority of her councillors, judges, and aristocracy, had as strong a tendency to corrupt and slavish principles as the worst enemy to national freedom could wish.

Many wholesome laws were made or revived by her; among others, justices of the peace were enjoined to take the examination of felons in writing, at the same time binding witnesses over to prosecute: without these regulations, a moment's reflection will shew, that much malignant accusation might take place in a justice room, unless witnesses were bound to prove their words. All landholders and householders were made proportionably chargeable to the repair of roads. The gaols were in a respectable state; since Fox allows, that the persons imprisoned for conscience' sake were treated humanely in the prisons under royal authority, while the persecuting bishops made noisome confinement part of the tortures of the unhappy protestants.

Queen Mary is commended for the merciful provision she made for the poor; there is, however, no trace of poor-rates, levied from the community at large, like those established by her sister Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. But that the poor were relieved by Mary is evident, by the entire cessation of those insurrections, on account of utter destitution, which took place in her father's and brother's reigns, and now and then under the sway of Elizabeth. This is more singular, since corn was at famine price[2] throughout the chief part of Mary's reign, owing to a series of inclement years and wet harvests. It seems likely that part of the church lands she restored, were devoted to the relief of the destitute, since very few monasteries were re-founded.[3] In her reign was altered that mysterious law, called benefit of clergy. It had originated

[1] See her charge to her judges, quoted by sir Nicholas Throckmorton on his trial.

[2] See the calculation of the price of corn, throughout four centuries, in Toone's Chronological History.

[3] Westminster, the Observants at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and Brigettines at Sion, with the hospital of the Savoy.

in the earliest dawn of civilization, when the church snatched from the tyranny of barbarous and ignorant chiefs all prisoners or victims who could read, and claiming them as her own, asserted the privilege of bringing them to trial. Thus were the learned judged by the learned, and the ignorant left to the mercies of those savage as themselves. This law tended wonderfully to the encouragement of learning, in times when not one out of two thousand laymen knew a letter in the book. Since the comparative cessation from civil war, after the accession of queen Mary's grandfather, general knowledge had surged forward in such mighty waves, that the law of benefit of clergy, with many others of high utility five centuries before, were left without an object, their actual purposes having ebbed away in the transitions of the times. The law of sanctuary was one of these. Mary wished, when she refounded the monastery of Westminster, for the privileges of its sanctuary to be abolished; but serjeant Plowden made a stand for them, on legal grounds.

Many customs and usages existed in the reign of our first queen regnant, which form amusing contrasts with the luxury and refinement witnessed under the sway of our present sovereign lady. Domestic cleanliness, in the reign of queen Mary, was by no means an English characteristic. When a room was out of order, the floor was neither swept nor washed, but received a fresh strewing of green rushes; just like the littering of a farm-yard, when it is newly spread with straw, for the accommodation of the cows or pigs, and the old surface remains a fermenting mass beneath. Thus, layer of rushes accumulated over layer, covering up bones, fragments from the wasteful dining table, and other abominations. On occasions of dancing, all this litter was disturbed, by a circle being swept in the midst of the hall; the stone floor was thus made clear of incumbrances, while the extra littering was heaped up all round. This custom explains an expression used by Shakspeare and the early dramatists and chroniclers, of "A hall! a hall!" when persons wished to dance. Such was the call by which domestics understood they were

to sweep the dancing ring in the hall. How noxious the vapours of the newly disturbed compost must have been to persons warm with dancing, may be supposed. The great philosopher of the sixteenth century, who evidently was not used to such dirty ways, in his native Holland, attributed the various plagues, which then desolated England, to these horrid habits. His description is as follows:—"As to the floors," says Erasmus, in his letter to Dr. Francis, "they are usually made of clay, covered with rushes, that grow in fens; these are so little disturbed, that the lower mass sometimes remains for twenty years together, and in it a collection of every kind of filth. Hence, upon a change of weather, a vapour is exhaled, most pernicious to the human body." He declares this to be the reason England was so frequently afflicted with pestilence. The nobles were not a whit cleanlier than the country gentry; but as they usually were possessed of several seats, they indulged in the luxury of removing from one to another, when the insects cherished by their dirty customs became inconvenient. These progresses they elegantly termed "going to sweeten." The most pitiful complaints were made by lord Paget to Edward VI.'s privy council, because, being in disgrace, he was confined to Beaudesert, which he assured them, "though pretty, was too small, and had withal become, by some months' residence, *horribly unsavoury*, and could not be sweetened, without the removal of his family."[1]

The dwellings of the lower and middle classes were made of timber and clay, or of wattled sticks and mud. The Spaniards who came over with king Philip at first expressed great scorn of these mud edifices, which they termed the national architecture; but when they beheld the good living of the inhabitants, "the English," said they, "live in houses made of dirt and sticks, but they fare therein as well as their monarch."[2]

Queen Mary having overcome the repugnance of the English to be governed by a sovereign lady, was disposed to place her own sex in stations of authority, of

[1] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i., p. 169.
[2] Holingshed, vol. i., p. 187.

which there have been few examples before or since. She made lady Berkley a justice of the peace for Gloucestershire, and lady Rous she appointed of the quorum for Suffolk, "who did usually sit on the bench at assizes and sessions, among the other justices, *cincta gladio*—girt with the sword.[1] The houses of parliament had some customs, now obsolete. It was necessary for a peer to obtain leave from the sovereign, if he found it needful to absent himself when parliament was sitting.

Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, being sick in the autumn of 1555, the queen granted him licence of absence, and appointed the persons she chose, or rather her government, for his proxy. Sir William Petre thus wrote to the sick earl:—"This bearer, your servant, bringing to you the queen's majesty's licence to be absent from parliament, I thought it good also to signify unto your lordship, that her majesty is very sorry for your sickness, and trusts, that giving yourself well to the recovery of your health, you shall, by God's grace, shortly grow strong again. In your proxy, her majesty prays you to name the lord Montague and bishop of Ely jointly and severally." The earl thanked her majesty for appointing him such honourable representatives, and sent his proxy by his son. If a member of the lower house absented himself contumaciously, he lost his wages.

The English drama assumed some likeness to its present form under her patronage. The old mysteries and moralities had given way before the regular plays of Plautus and Terence, acted in Latin by the boys of Westminster or St. Paul's school, who were chiefly the acolytes, or assistants of the mass. Heywood, the queen's poet and dramatic writer, was frequently sent for in her long illness; and when she was able to listen to recitation, he repeated his verses or superintended performances for her amusement.

The queen remained at Greenwich the remainder of the year 1555, so very sick and weak, that it was daily expected she would surrender her life where she drew her first breath. The autumn was unhealthy, owing to incessant floods of rain; and the Thames rose so high,

[1] Harl. MS. 980, l. In MS. notes of Mr. Attorney-general Noy.

that Westminster Hall was under water, and wherries rowed through it. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, died at the close of the same year.[1] Mary severely felt his loss as a financier; for his integrity and sagacity were remarkable in pecuniary affairs; he managed her income so well, that her expenditure did not exceed the ancient revenues of the crown as long as he lived.

Queen Mary permitted the duchess of Northumberland to retain a maintenance sufficient to support her rank, through the intercession of don Diego de Mondeça. There is reason to suppose the queen carried her generosity so far, as to repossess the duchess in the royal palace at Chelsea, since she was buried at Chelsea Church in 1555, and left in her will to her son-in-law, sir Henry Sidney, the green and gold hangings *in the gallery* in the Manor House (water side) Chelsea.

An alarming accident happened whilst the queen dwelt at Greenwich, owing to the forgetfulness of a gunner belonging to a ship passing down the Thames, who, intending to salute the palace, discharged a small cannon, or falcon, loaded with ball, which broke the windows of the queen's chamber, and the ball even penetrated into her room. The unlucky marksman was not punished for this unwelcome salute, as he pleaded accident.

[1] In Fox's Martyrology a popular error has been induced by a narrative, declaring that Gardiner was struck with death while waiting for the news of the dreadful executions of Latimer and Ridley. It is singular that this story likewise made the old duke of Norfolk impatient for his dinner on the same occasion, who had been in his grave more than a twelvemonth before. As Fox must have minutely known every particular in the Norfolk family, from having been chaplain and confidant to the duchess of Richmond, and appointed by her tutor to the orphans of her unfortunate brother (the earl of Surrey), the whole story is most likely an awkward interpolation of one of the martyrologist's early editors, for contemporaries never make those species of mistakes. The true date of Gardiner's death is marked by a letter, written at the very time, from London, to the earl of Shrewsbury (Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i.):—

"My lord of Winchester, whose soul God pardon, is departed, and his bowels were buried at St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, but his body, as the saying is, shall be carried to Winchester Cathedral, to be buried there. What time he departed is not yet certainly known, but most men say he died on Tuesday, at night, being the 12th day of this instant, about two o'clock after midnight, at Westminster, and was brought in his barge to his house in Southwark." This was the palace of his see in Southwark.

Mary once more appeared in public at the commencement of the year 1556, pale as a corpse, and looking ten years older than when she was last seen.[1] She reviewed her band of gentlemen pensioners in Greenwich Park; after which a tumbler came forth from the crowd, and volunteered so many droll antics for the royal diversion, that he elicited a hearty laugh and a reward from the sick queen. A deep obscurity remains on her locality throughout the chief part of this year, which was marked with persecution, insurrection, and famine. The dreadful martyrdom of Cranmer took place in the spring. The utter paucity of all intelligence concerning the residence and movements of Mary, and her total absence from council, leads to the conclusion that she was again on a sick bed. She made no progresses in the summer: indeed, such movements were impossible in her desperate state of health; for when she attempted them in her father's reign, she was usually carried home ill in a litter. Her affectionate maid of honour, Jane Dormer, who married a Spanish grandee, the conde di Feria, and wrote her own memoirs, affirms that her royal mistress, when convalescent in the summer, retired to the palace at Croydon, which had been a dower residence of her mother, Katharine of Arragon. Here her sole amusement was walking, plainly dressed, with her ladies, and entering the cottages of the poor, and, unknown to them, relieving their wants. She likewise chose those of their children that seemed promising for the benefits of education. This account agrees with her extreme love of children, and the numerous god-children and infant protégées, on whom she lavished a great part of her narrow income in her youth.[2]

The invalid queen, in her moments of convalescence, soothed her cares and miseries at the embroidery frame. Many specimens of her needlework were extant in the reign of James I., and are thus celebrated by Taylor, the poet of the needle:—

> "Mary here the sceptre swayed;
> And though she were a queen of mighty power,

[1] Michele, the Venetian ambassador. Lansdowne MS.

[2] See almost every page of her Privy Purse Expenses, edited by sir F. Madden.

Her memory will never be decayed,
Which by her works are likewise in the Tower,
In Windsor Castle, and in Hampton Court:
In that most pompous room called Paradise,
Whoever pleaseth thither to resort
May see some works of hers of wondrous *price*, (value.)
Her greatness held it no disreputation
To hold the needle in her royal hand;
Which was a good example to our nation,
To banish idleness throughout her land.
And thus this queen in wisdom thought it fit;
The needle's work pleased her, and she graced it."

Where "the pompous room called Paradise, at Hampton Court," may be, must remain a mystery; but it was probably one of the ancient state apartments destroyed by William III., to make way for the quadrangle built and ornamented in the mode à la Louis Quatorze. It is easy to surmise that it was hung with tapestry representing the garden of Eden, with beasts, birds, and plants, depicted according to such artistical ideas as Mary and her maids of honour might possess, when delineating subjects of natural history in cross-stitch. Katharine of Arragon, the mother of queen Mary, commenced ornamenting the state apartments in the Tower. According to Taylor, Mary finished the splendid and elaborate tapestry begun by her mother; but all vestiges of the royal apartments of the Tower were swept away by the destructive warfare in the succeeding century. The very site has become matter of dispute; and with these antique palatial lodging-rooms vanished the united labours that queen Mary and her mother had bestowed on their hangings and furniture. It is possible that some remains of Mary's needlework may exist at Windsor Castle. It is known, from her privy purse expenses, that she worked an enormous arm-chair, as a new year's gift, for her father, Henry VIII.; and there is reason to suppose it is the specimen of Mary's needlework Taylor alludes to, as well known at Windsor.

A series of plots and insurrections took place, agitated by a younger brother of the Stafford family, who was a nephew of cardinal Pole, and had been malcontent before his uncle returned to England. The object was to seize the public treasure. The French ambassador was, as usual, concerned with this rising, which had several ramifications; in which two of the household of the

princess Elizabeth were again concerned, and when arrested, they accused their mistress of participation. The princess, however, had not the least difficulty in convincing her sister of her innocence, who sent her a ring, in token of her confidence. The officers of Elizabeth were executed. A new disturbance was raised in July, by an impostor, who personated the deceased earl of Devonshire, and who actually proclaimed himself and Elizabeth king and queen. This trying circumstance produced no division between the royal sisters; nor did the populace take the slightest interest in the attempts of any of the disturbers. Lord Bray, the son-in-law of the earl of Shrewsbury, was confined in the Tower, being accused of participation in Stafford's revolt. Lady Bray was admitted to the queen's presence, and pleaded the cause of her lord very earnestly and successfully.

Mrs. Clarencieux, the queen's old maid, came to lady Bray, with kind words from her majesty, and invited her to dine with her, and led her by the hand through the court to her chamber; and this was thought to be by the queen's special commandment. The queen, two days after, spoke of the devotion of the young wife with great praise; but added with emphasis, which it was thought alluded to her own case, that—

"God sent ofttimes to good women evil husbands."[1]

The stout Gospeller, Edward Underhill, escaped all persecution for his religion, though he had been in some danger whilst the queen's severe illness lasted. His enemies sometimes would tell him that warrants were out against him. To which the valiant protestant said, if they were, and he found them not duly signed by the council, (it should seem by this assertion that the sick queen's signature was not appended to these tyrannical instruments,) he should go farther than Peter, who only cut off the ear of Malchus, for he should cut off the head and ears into the bargain of any messenger who served such warrant. Some light is cast on the cruel inquisition that performed the enormities in Mary's reign, after her marriage, since Underhill considers himself

[1] Strype and Lodge's Illustrations. Shrewsbury Correspondence.

legally authorized in resisting to death any warrant which was not signed by five of the council. Now Burnet expressly says, neither Mary nor cardinal Pole were ever at these councils; and that, in the midst of the persecutions, seldom more than three sat in consultation.

Underhill took the precaution of walling up, with a good barrier of bricks, all his polemic library, in a niche of his bedchamber in Wood-street. He assures his reader they were all released from their concealment, as good as new, when the scene changed, at the accession of Elizabeth. Thus, this gallant gentleman of the pen and sword weathered all the political and religious storms of the reign of Mary, and lived prosperously till a good old age, under the sway of Elizabeth. In truth, being a county gentleman of family and fortune, he was in little danger; for the ugliest feature in the Marian persecution was, that the vengeance of the inquisitors was principally wreaked on the poor and lowly, whose tortures and sufferings were made terrific examples to their superiors, a mode of proceeding the direct reverse to all former policy in England. Those who were of rank sufficient to have access to the queen, were generally pardoned, if she could induce Gardiner to consent. In the cases of Edwin Sandys, sir John Cheke, and her sister Elizabeth, and afterwards lord Bray, she actively interfered for their preservation. The flight of the dowager of Suffolk to the continent seems to have originated as much from her stolen match with her man, Richard Barty, as on a religious account.[1]

[1] The manner in which the widows of mature years, connected with the royal family, had wedded men of obscure degree, is worthy of remark. The practice began with the daughter of Edward I., who married her husband's squire; then the widow of Henry V. married Owen Tudor; her sister-in-law, Jaquette, duchess of Bedford, took for her husband Richard Woodville, a soldier of fortune: the descendants of both these last unions intermarried, and reigned in England, in the persons of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. The next sister of Elizabeth of York, Cecily, the widow of lord Welles, married one Kyme, of Lincolnshire, (perhaps of the same family as the husband of poor Anne Askew;) Frances Brandon, duchess of Suffolk, (mother of lady Jane Gray,) was disgraced by queen Elizabeth, when her wedlock with a Mr. Stokes was discovered. The haughty Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset, took for her spouse Mr. Newdigate, a lawyer; and Katharine, heiress of Willoughby and dowager duchess of Suffolk, (widow of Charles Brandon,)

In February, 1556-7, visits of friendly intercourse were exchanged between the queen and her sister Elizabeth, who spent some weeks at Somerset House. This palace seems to have been granted to the princess by her sister, as her town house. The trouble, and even persecution, with which Dudley had plagued Elizabeth regarding her claim to Durham House, (a much inferior domicile,) and her complaints of being bereft of any town house, are the chief topic of her correspondence at the close of Edward VI.'s life. A contemporary chronicle[1] shews Elizabeth living with great royalty at Somerset House, built by the protector Somerset, by which he had impoverished his family and lost his popularity. Queen Mary returned the frequent visits her sister had made her, during her spring abode at Somerset House, by a progress to Hatfield. Here the next morning, *after mass*, she was entertained by Elizabeth with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which, says the chronicler, "their highnesses were right well content." To do Mary justice, this is the only instance recorded of her presence and satisfaction at any exhibition of cruelty. Neither letters, account book, nor any other evidence we have yet discovered, represent her as an encourager or rewarder of the cruel amusements in vogue at her era; and in this, with the exception of her mother, she stands alone among her family. She seldom hunted, even in her youth, and she never swore, either on paper or by utterance,—negative good qualities, which candour demands should be recorded to her credit, when so many evil ones have been alleged against her. The evening recreations of Hatfield, it may be considered, were more to the taste of the musical queen than the morning bear-baiting, for they consisted of concerts, at which her sister Elizabeth amused her by playing on the virginals, accompanied by a chorister boy, who possessed a divine voice.

endowed with herself and her hereditary barony, Richard Barty, afterwards the founder of a noble line. This lady is placed as a victim in the martyrologies; but documents do not agree with any such classification, as it is plain, by the marginal notes in the work which she published of Katharine Parr, that she approved of the celibacy of the clergy; and if these were her tenets in the reign of Elizabeth, the inference is reasonable, that love, not religion, was the cause of her quarrel with queen Mary.

[1] Printed by Strype; will be quoted in Elizabeth's Life.

Before the end of the summer, queen Mary returned the hospitalities at Hatfield by a *fête champêtre* and *al fresco* concert, at Richmond Palace, of peculiar elegance. The queen sent her barge for her sister, who was again resident in London, at Somerset House. Surely the decorations provided for the triumphal passage, up the Thames, of Elizabeth, then in the prime of her life and hopes, might have been exceeded by that princess in costliness, when in the zenith of her regal splendour, but never in taste; for Mary had caused her barge to be festooned, for her sister's voyage, with rich garlands of flowers, and covered with an awning of green silk, embroidered with branches of eglantine and golden blossoms. Under this canopy Elizabeth sat in state, attended by the comptroller of her household, sir Thomas Pope, and four of her ladies of honour. Six boats followed with the gentlemen of Elizabeth's retinue, who were dressed in russet damask and blue satin, with caps of silver cloth and green plumes. Queen Mary received her sister and her brilliant train in Richmond Palace Gardens, and entertained her with a sumptuous banquet, in a pavilion constructed in the labyrinth, in the form of a castle, made of cloth of gold and violet velvet, embroidered with silver fleur-de-lis, and her mother's device of the pomegranate in gold. A concert succeeded the banquet, at which the best minstrels in the kingdom gratified the high musical tastes of the royal sisters; but there is no mention made that either bulls, bears, badgers, or any other creatures, were baited for their diversion. In the evening, the queen's barge with its gay garlands was again launched on the silver Thames, for the homeward voyage of the heiress of England; and followed by the attendant boats, the beautiful water procession safely arrived that night at Somerset House.

The queen had reason soon after to express her high approbation of the dutiful conduct of Elizabeth, regarding her reception of the king of Sweden's proposal of marriage for his heir. Mary's conduct, if examined through the medium of documents, appears conscientious and unexceptionable, regarding all overtures for her sister's marriage. She sent for sir Thomas Pope, and

after declaring her approval of Elizabeth's reference to herself respecting the Swedish offer, requested him to learn her sister's real sentiments, as to whether her constant refusal of suitors proceeded from any objection to the married state in general.

King Philip returned for a short time, in March, 1557, for the purpose of forcing his queen into a war with France; it is certain she had received every possible provocation from Henry II., who had incited all the plots that had agitated England since her accession, yet she was very loth to involve her kingdom in the expenses of a war, which her finances were totally inadequate to support. She, however, took the opportunity of pardoning most of the rebels that had been engaged in the late insurrection, on condition of their joining the English quota of Philip's army, then mustering near Calais. Lord Bray was among the number, which likewise comprised the surviving sons of the duke of Northumberland, the queen having restored their property as well as their freedom.[1] She raised money to equip her army, by borrowing from the country gentlemen and citizens who had capital to spare, small sums at the enormous interest of twelve per cent. Philip left England in the summer, and the queen never saw him more. His friend, the prince of Savoy, won for him the battle of St. Quintin, in August; but this victory seemed an illustration of the Irish adage of "gaining a loss," since the principal result was, that the French got possession of Calais a few months afterwards.

The recent visit of Philip, and the martial excitement around her, had roused queen Mary for a short time from the deadly torpor of disease, and she became sufficiently convalescent to be occupied with a series of vexations. Not the least of these was the pertinacity with which Philip II. insisted on her forcing her sister Elizabeth to give her hand to his friend the prince of Savoy, who was at this time the hero of the day.

It must be owned, that if Mary wished to disinherit or banish her sister, it was strange that she encouraged

[1] Lodge's Illustrations (Talbot Papers), vol. i., p. 208.

her in her objections to every foreign match. When Philip urged arguments in behalf of his friend, queen Mary answered, that she had consented to the match while she thought Elizabeth would approve of it, but that as she found her exceedingly averse, in conscience she could not force her[1] into an unwilling marriage. The queen added, that she was certain that parliament would not suffer her sister to quit the kingdom—a clear acknowledgment of Elizabeth's position, as second person in the realm. This controversy produced an angry letter from Philip, in which he charged Mary, on her conscience, and as she regarded the future welfare of her religion, to bring this matter to bear. This produced a singular letter from queen Mary, written in French. It is worded in the self-denying and humble style, conventional in epistles of the era, but contains a distinct avowal of determination to act in regard to her sister's marriage only as her parliament should agree; a principle which governed her in every act of her regal life, although she has been made singly responsible for all the evil enacted by her parliaments, as if she had been an autocrat, who issued ukases expressive of her sole will.

QUEEN MARY TO KING PHILIP.[2]

"Monseigneur,

"I have received the letters from your highness by Francisco,[3] the 18th instant. Humbly thanking you for the same, especially as you are pleased to write that you took mine in good part, which were, indeed, I assure your highness, written with good intention; and, assuredly, yours were written with the same. Before I say anything else, I must entreat your highness (who wishes that I should examine my conscience, to ascertain if conformable to the truth or not) to appoint and name to me some persons, who shall appear to your highness convenient to communicate with me on this affair, (*Elizabeth's marriage,*) and I will listen to them sincerely, with a right good heart, whosoever they may be.

"Nevertheless, in my last letters to your highness, when I proposed that, should I confirm this marriage, it must be that consent is given here for it, and so shall I act. Without which (on my fidelity) whatever persons may be pleased, I doubt neither your highness or this kingdom will be well satisfied in the end.

"Once, your highness may remember, I listened to your highness's friars in regular procuration from your highness. But then they and

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii.

[2] The original is in Strype's Memorials, No. 56, printed with many evident mistakes in the French.

[3] The royal courier, mentioned as such in letters at the State Paper Office.

Alphonso[1] propounded questions so obscure (*irrelevant*) that, to my simple understanding, there was no comprehending them. As, for instance, 'Who was king in Adam's days?' And said, withal, I was bound to conclude this marriage by an article in my creed.[2] Yet if he had not propounded things too difficult to be understood, it was nevertheless impossible for him, in so short a time, to direct my conscience.[3] But one thing I promise your highness, whoever you appoint will not find me obstinate, or without reason, I hope.

"Meantime, your highness has written in the said letters, that, if a parliament shall go contrary, your highness will impute the fault to me. I beg, in all humility, that your highness will defer this matter till your return, and then it will be manifest whether I am culpable or not. Otherwise I shall live in apprehension of your highness's displeasure, which would be worse to me than death; for I have already begun to taste it too much, to my great regret. Truth to say, in my simple judgment, (under the correction of your highness) the duke of Savoy will be . . . . .[4] and unless a number of the council, the nobility, and kingdom are with your highness, I cannot find by what means the matter can be happily treated. Notwithstanding, in my judgment, (for my conscience must be satisfied as well as that of your highness,) the affair will never be concluded as your highness would have it, without your presence here.

"Wherefore, monseigneur, in as humble wise as it is possible for me (being your very loyal and very obedient wife, which to be I confess myself justly obliged to be, and in my opinion more than any other woman, having such a husband as your highness is, without speaking of the multitude of your kingdoms, for that is not my principal motive,) I entreat your highness that we both pray to God, and put our first confidence in him, that we may meet and live together. And that same God, in whose hand is the direction of the hearts of kings, will I hope, without fail, enlighten us in such manner that all at last shall tend to his glory and your satisfaction."

It is very plainly to be gathered from this letter, that Mary did not choose to use any indirect and illegal methods of influencing her parliament in favour of a marriage which was equally against the wishes of her sister and the kingdom. This letter has been mentioned

[1] Alphonso di Castro was king Philip's good confessor, who preached against the English persecution. He might, though a great man in the pulpit, be a very awkward deputy when treating on royal marriages.

[2] This argument of Alphonso was by no means difficult to be comprehended, if queen Mary had chosen to enter into its spirit. It is evident he meant to urge that, if she forced her heiress to marry a catholic champion, like the prince of Savoy, her religion would remain inevitably established in England.

[3] Philip had imagined that a Spanish confessor would make his wife's conscience more practicable.

[4] The sense of some words is here totally lost or misapprehended: they imply some hindrance to Savoy. Strype has printed them *asture en guer*. We are inclined to fill them up with—involved in war or strife, by his wedlock with Elizabeth, against her consent and that of the people.

(but surely by persons incapable of reading the original) as an instance of the utter slavery of Mary's disposition, when, in truth, she makes in it a noble distinction, between the tenderness of a wife and the duties of an English queen. She will discuss the marriage with whoever her husband appoints. She will not be influenced to act against her regal integrity, either by the mysticism or the bigotry of his friars. She means to leave the whole to her parliament, but deprecates his unreasonable displeasure, in making her accountable when she has no right to control their acts. She shews that nothing but trouble will follow any exertion of despotism in the affair; yet, if her husband wishes to influence her people, he had better do it in person, for she wants much to see him. And she concludes with a prayer, almost in the words retained in our liturgy, that God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, will direct this matter to his glory. And when it is considered that the matter was providing Elizabeth with a catholic spouse, the whole tends to clear Mary's character of some stains of bigotry.

The ambassador to whom Philip confided the negotiation of this marriage, was his beautiful and fascinating cousin, Christina of Denmark.[1] Like all the female descendants of Isabel of Castile, this young lady possessed great talents for government. She was daughter of the deposed tyrant, Christiern II., king of Denmark, and the virtuous Isabel, sister of the emperor Charles V. Early inured to misfortune, she was reared in exile, and became the ornament and darling of the imperial court. She married the duke of Lorraine, and was at this time a widow. Philip II. was suspected of cherishing a passion for his lovely cousin, who had great influence in his councils. Christina was an active politician, but, to her credit be it spoken, she had an enthusiastic turn for negotiating peace.[2]

[1] Granger's Biographical History, and Miss Aiken.

[2] Christina composed the warfare between Philip II. and Henry II. in the succeeding year. (See Holingshed.) Perhaps she wished to rival the glory of her aunt, queen Leonora, of Louise duchess of Savoy, and of Marguerite of Savoy, who made the peace called the Ladies' Peace, which gave Europe a breathing from the horrors of a ten years' war.

Some rumours of Philip's partiality for his cousin had reached the ears of Mary, who, either displeased with the embassy, or jealous of the ambassadress, gave her, though a near kinswoman of her own, anything but a gracious reception. She warned Elizabeth, that if she did not wish to marry Savoy, she must keep close at Hatfield; thus Christina never saw her. After the departure of the lovely diplomatiste, it is said, queen Mary, in an access of jealousy, cut her husband's picture to pieces with her own hand.[1] She had recently received a portrait of him, to which a curious anecdote is annexed. She had no great idea of the valour of her spouse, but when she was told that, for the first time in his life, he had appeared in armour, at the siege of St. Quintin, she was smitten with an extreme desire to have his picture, representing him in his warlike panoply. Philip very gallantly complied with her wish, and sent her his portrait, in armour all but the helmet; for he did not consider it was consistent with etiquette, that the head should be covered before the queen. Perhaps this was the picture on which she wreaked her vengeance.

Mary was exasperated at the thought, that her husband had deserted her, and given to his cousin the confidence and influence she ought to possess. Her health again received a mortal shock from the attacks of chronic disease, but, with a self-deception like monomania, she once more fancied that she was about to become a mother. She made her will in the autumn of 1557, under this impression; in many clauses she alluded to a hope of offspring, as futile as that she had formerly cherished.

Michele, the Venetian ambassador, who saw queen Mary at the close of the year 1557, will not allow that she was otherwise than an interesting-looking woman; he thus minutely describes her person:—"She is of low stature, but has no deformity in any part of her person. She is thin and delicate, altogether unlike her father, who was tall and strongly made; or her mother, who, if

[1] Granger's Biographical History.

not tall, was massive. Her face is well formed, and her features prove, as well as her pictures, that when younger she was not only good-looking, but more than moderately handsome; she would now be so, saving some wrinkles, caused more by sorrow than by age. She looks years older than she is, and always appears very grave. Her eyes are piercing, and inspire not only deference, but even fear in those on whom she bends them; yet she is near-sighted, being unable to read or do anything else without her eyes being close to whatever she would peruse or well discern. Her voice powerful, and high pitched, like that of a man, so that when she speaks she is heard at some little distance." This is a peculiarity often observed in females who sing well, for a very fine voice in singing is often counterbalanced by most unpleasant tones in speech. "In short," resumes Michele, "she may, at her present age, be considered very good-looking, not only as a queen but a woman, and ought never to be despised for ugliness."[1] Such is the opinion of a contemporary ambassador, whose national interest by no means led him to be her adulator; rather the contrary.

The real portraits of Mary are as much historical mysteries as her private character and conduct. Her portraits, as a girl and young woman, vary much from each other, on account of the extreme fluctuations of her health; her early portraits are often mistaken for those of lady Jane Gray, to whom she bore in youth a strong family resemblance. The immense size of the foreheads of these kinswomen, in breadth as well as in height, is extraordinary; it is possible that the early erudition of both, and their great capacity for learning, is in some degree connected with this mighty development of frontal brain. The enormous breadth of music in Mary's forehead is well accounted for by her early proficiency in that science; perhaps the musical development in queen Mary's forehead is the largest that can be instanced in any female head: her passion for music must have amounted to mania.

[1] MS. Lansdowne, 840 A, folio 155 *b*.

The youthful portraits of Mary fully justify the continual praises we have been forced to quote from contemporary documents of the attractiveness of her person. The portrait preferred by sir Frederic Madden, is at Burleigh House. She has brown hair, large, open, dark eyes, full red lips, and a good complexion. In the possession of E. Wenman Martin, Esq., is a fine portrait by Holbein, representing Mary as a girl of sixteen: she is pretty, excepting a slight degree of pettishness about the full red lips; this expression is mentioned by sir Frederic Madden, as pertaining to another pretty girlish portrait, engraved by Hollar, from the Arundel collection. In the Holbein family group, at Hampton Court, she is a pleasing woman of twenty-eight; indeed, till after her marriage, all portraiture represents her as a pleasing woman. Vertue's copy, lately at Strawberry Hill, of the Burleigh picture (since engraved by the Granger Society), gives her a pretty face, exceedingly resembling the portrait in possession of Mr. E. Wenman Martin; but in some of the engravings from the same picture her face is what the Americans would call "awful," not in majesty, but in ugliness. She is, in the original, (supposed to be by sir Antonio More,) seated in state under a canopy, dressed with royal magnificence in a gold-cloth brocaded kirtle, hanging re-bras sleeves, and a jewelled hood; her husband, who is a young man of mean presence, and carrotty complexion, stands near her canopy. Two "little fair hounds" are at her feet.

Both Philip and Mary are depicted exactly like the Granger engraving, in the curious family group, painted by order of Elizabeth, which was lately at Strawberry Hill. Mary is as unprepossessing as in most of her queenly portraits; but this portrait was painted at the latest period of her life, when the effects of dire disease were painfully apparent in her visage. A woman's portrait ought to be taken for futurity in the prime of life. It would be hard even upon Helen of Troy, to form our ideas of her beauty when shaken by decay, and verging to the tomb.

A series of the most dismal, wet, and cold seasons, such as have been observed to occur, in many instances,

in the middle of centuries, plagued the reign of Mary: famines and burning fevers succeeded this atmospheric irregularity, and were regarded by many as judgments inflicted by God, for the tortures of the protestants, without considering that the insalubrity of the seasons were alike inimical to the health and comfort of the professors of each faith; but gloom and superstitious excitement pervaded the whole population of England, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and every aberration from the common course of nature was viewed through their medium. Phosphoric exhalations of luminous appearance have been much seen, even on high grounds, after the wet and unhealthy autumn of 1841, and these have been viewed with some awe by the simple country people, in these enlightened days; but the same phenomena were observed at the latter end of the reign of Mary, and were fully believed to be the spectres of those horrid fires which had consumed the protestant martyrs. These phosphoric meteors certainly boded no good to human health, for general pestilence succeeded them. Strype's chronicler thus mentions these appearances:—"Apparitions of strange fires were seen by persons in many places in the neighbourhood of London; as in Finsbury fields, Moorfield, near the windmill, and at the doghouse, by one dame Annice Clere's, and in many open places."[1]

The natural result of hostilities with France was war with Scotland, which was then united under one royal family. The Scotch having made a desperate inbreak over the English border, queen Mary took the resolution of heading an army against them, and she summoned the northern militia, by a proclamation to that effect.[2] She had sufficient energy of mind for such an exploit, had her sinking frame seconded her intentions. The unexpected loss of Calais, with which the year commenced, overwhelmed both the English and their queen with dismay; and during the remainder of her

[1] Strype, vol. iii., p. 509.

[2] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i., p. 306. The Scotch were vigorously repulsed by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, with the levies raised for the personal campaign of Mary.

miserable life, she was harassed with schemes to regain that fragment of France—the sole fruits of all the conquests of the Plantagenets. This town was maintained by the sovereigns of England, at an expense equal to a fifth of the revenue. It had often been the nursery of faction, and several revolts,[1] which shook the English throne, had been concocted within its walls; yet it was dearly prized by the English, as the key to France, whenever they should possess a monarch sufficiently combative to renew the invasions of Edward III. and Henry V.—a consummation the nation devoutly wished, not having sufficient statistic wisdom to trace the long miseries of civil strife, in the fifteenth century, to the evil qualities induced in the population by such diabolical warfare, from which they gained nothing but the expensive possession of Calais. It is little known, that this town sent two representatives to the English house of commons.

The duke of Guise captured the citadel of Hammes, by a *coup de main*, in the first days of January, and before the end of the month Calais itself was re-united to the French crown. "When do you English intend to visit France again?" was the taunting question asked by a French chevalier of an English veteran, as lord Grey was marching out of Calais. "When your national crimes exceed ours," was the admirable reply; and this prediction, recorded by the historic pen of Lord Bacon, has been fulfilled by the duke of Wellington. But neither Mary nor her subjects could foresee a futurity so consolatory to national pride. The English insisted that king Philip should make no peace with France till Calais was restored; and this involved the queen in such a mesh of disputes, that she declared she should die, and if her breast was opened, Calais would be found written on her heart. Her death was near at hand: she had resided at Richmond in the spring, where she caught a bad intermittent fever, induced by the series

[1] The earl of Warwick matured all his schemes there, both for the aggrandizement and dethronement of the house of York. Henry VII. was likewise aided in his invasion of England by the garrison of Calais.

of wet, ungenial seasons, prevalent throughout her reign. Before the Jesuits discovered the specific of Peruvian bark, agues, and other intermittents, were the scourge of the country, and often degenerated into the worst typhus fevers. So little was understood of the nature of malaria, that the queen removed to Hampton Court, for change of air, which is situated nearer the level of the Thames than was Richmond Palace. Finding she grew worse, she removed from thence to St. James's, which has the most marshy site that London could offer. Here, however, the fever somewhat abated; but her spirits were oppressed with extreme melancholy at the tidings of the death of her kinsman, Charles V., which occurred in September, 1558.

While the queen laid very sick and ill, persons were punished with the pillory, for falsely reporting that she had expired; it is evident her unfortunate subjects were treated with increased cruelty by the council, who directed the religious persecution which raged in the land. A poor woman, named Alice Driver, was burnt to death for heresy; she had a short time previously been condemned by sir Clement Higham, (a judge more clement in name than nature,) to have her ears cut off, for railing on her majesty, and calling her Jezabel. There is a strong contrast between these horrid sentences and that inflicted on an expert scold, at Bedford, who, for the same offence, was, when Mary presided over her council, condemned, for railing against her majesty, to the ancient constitutional punishment of the cucking stool.

King Philip did not visit England, but sent the conde de Feria, with a message and ring to his dying wife. Feria was likewise empowered to confer with the English parliament. The despatches of this ambassador contain some curious particulars. He found parliament very uneasy at the loss of Calais, extremely averse to impose heavy taxes for the purpose of regaining it, and, above all things, unwilling to break the alliance with Flanders, which, it was affirmed, was indispensable, since the union of France and Scotland. King Philip advised queen Mary to take some steps for the proper recognition of Elizabeth as her successor; a proposition

which Mary, says Feria, greeted with great satisfaction. The queen likewise sent her jewels to her sister, by the countess de Feria (formerly Jane Dormer). To these, by king Philip's orders, was added a very precious casket of gems he had left at St. James's Palace, which he knew Elizabeth particularly admired. The queen, when she sent the jewels, charged her sister to pay all the debts she had contracted on privy seals, and to keep religion as she found it; both which injunctions the countess de Feria affirmed Elizabeth swore to regard. Thus it is evident that Mary was on good terms with her sister, when she laid on her death-bed.

Cardinal Pole was dying of the same intermittent fever as his royal cousin; it was doubtful which would expire first, and messages hourly passed between these early friends.

The whole court had deserted Mary's palace, since her recognition of Elizabeth as her successor, and were seen passing and repassing on the road to Hatfield. Of this desertion the queen never complained; perhaps she thought it natural, and she had devoted friends round her, who paid her requisite attention; but Elizabeth often recalled it with horror when pressed to name a successor.[1]

The hand of death was on the queen throughout the 16th of November, but her previous sufferings had blunted the usual agonies of dissolution, for she was composed, and even cheerful; between four and five in the morning of November 17th, after receiving extreme unction, at her desire, mass was celebrated in her chamber. At the elevation of the host, she raised her eyes to heaven, and at the benediction bowed her head, and expired. These particulars of the last moments of queen Mary were given by an eye-witness, White, bishop of Winchester, in her funeral sermon.

Cardinal Pole survived her; being informed of her departure, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at the

[1] Elizabeth's words, that she would not follow the example of her sister, and send such visitors to her successor as came to see her at Hatfield, strongly confirm Feria's despatches.

prospect of his speedy dissolution, which actually took place within a few hours.

The deceased queen was embalmed, and then removed from the chamber in which she expired into the chapel of St. James's Palace, on the evening of the 10th of December, where she laid in state, with the usual watch of ladies. It was the custom for the body of an English sovereign to be buried in royal array, but Mary had earnestly entreated that no semblance of the crown, which had pressed so heavily on her brow in life, might encumber her corpse in death. She requested that she might be interred in the habit of a poor religieuse. Leti is the only historian who records this request, but it is more probable that Mary made it than that it was fulfilled.

Her funeral took place on the 13th of the same month, and it proves how completely the gothic etiquette, followed at such ceremonials, recognised alone the warlike and masculine character in a sovereign: for our first queen-regnant's helmet, sword, targe, and body armour, were carried before her corpse; and a stranger in the country, trusting only to the eye, would have supposed the English were attending the burial of a king. The procession set out from the palace of St. James, where she died. A herald, who was an eye-witness of the scene, thus describes it:[1]—"So up the highway went the foremost standard, the falcon and the hart. Then came a great company of mourners. Then another goodly standard of the lion and the falcon, followed by king Philip's servants, riding two and two. Then the third standard, with the white greyhound and falcon. The marquis of Winchester bore the banner of England on horseback; Chester herald, the helm, the crest, and the mantle; Norroy, the target, with the crown of England and the order of the Garter; Clarencieux, the sword, and Mr. Garter, king at arms, her coat armour—all on horseback. The Somerset, Lancaster, Windsor, and York heralds, carried four white banners

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. iii., par. 2, pp. 141, 142. The falcon in these banners seems the imperial eagle.

of saints embossed in fine gold. Then came the corpse, in a chariot, with an exact image representing queen Mary, dressed in crimson velvet, with many gold rings on her hands. The pall over the coffin was black cloth of gold, intersected by a cross of cloth of silver. The body was followed by the chief mourners; the queen's ladies came after on horseback, but their black trains were long enough to sweep after them on the ground.

Before the corpse, and following after, came processions of monks, mourning their own fate as well as the death of Mary. Such was the procession which passed by Charing Cross, and arrived at the great door of Westminster Abbey, where every one alighted from their horses. "There waited gentlemen, ready to take the queen out of her chariot." The earls and lords went before her towards the hearse, which, it must always be remembered, was erected in the abbey, near or over the grave. The effigy above mentioned was carried between "men of worship." At the great door of the abbey, four bishops, and abbot Feckenham, *in pontificalibus*, met this procession, and censed the corpse. The royal corpse was then placed on the hearse, and watched the livelong night of December 13th. A hundred poor men, in good black gowns and hoods, bearing long torches, with the queen's guard, in black coats, bearing staff torches, stood round the hearse that night; and wax-chandlers were in attendance, to supply any torches that burnt out.

The next morning, December 14th, was the queen's mass, and all the mourners offered; and the queen's body armour, her sword, her helmet, her target, her banner of arms, and three standards, were all offered, her heralds standing round her coffin. The bishop of Winchester preached a most remarkable funeral sermon for the deceased queen, being often interrupted by his tears; the historical circumstances attending this oration prove that queen Elizabeth was present at the ceremony. The herald who is our guide in this curious ceremonial, proceeds to say—"Then her grace was carried up to that chapel king Henry VII. builded, attended by mitred bishops. When the heralds brake their staffs,

and flung them into her grave, all the people plucked down the hangings and the armorial bearings round about the abbey, and every one tore him a piece as large as he could catch it." What a scene of uproar and confusion must have concluded this last state ceremony of the Roman church in England! However, the archbishop of York, in the midst of the hurlyburly, proclaimed a collation, and as soon as he finished, the bishops, abbot Feckenham, the lords, ladies, and knights, went into the abbey to dinner.

Mary was interred on the north side of Henry VII.'s chapel. No memorial exists of her, saving her participation in the following inscription, inscribed on two small black tablets, erected by the order of James I., which point out the spots where her body reposes with that of her sister, queen Elizabeth:—

REGNO CONSORTES ET URNA HIC OBDOR-MIMUS ELIZABETHA
ET MARIA SORORES IN SPE RESURREC-TIONIS.

Elizabeth dispatched lord Cobham, on the 23rd of November, to Philip II., who was then in Flanders, with the news of her sister's demise. He celebrated Mary's requiem in the cathedral of Brussels, simultaneously with her burial;[1] and on the same day, by a singular coincidence, the like service was performed for his father, Charles V., and for his aunt, the queen of Hungary, so busy had death been in the royal family of Spain.[1]

In her testament, Mary styled herself queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defender of the faith, archduchess of Austria, duchess of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, countess of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol.

She named her husband as principal executor, and her cousin, cardinal Pole, as the acting executor, to whom she left £1000. She considered she had a right to dispose of by will the church property she found still unalienated by her father and brother: the income arising from it she seems to have devoted to the main-

[1] Holingshed.

tenance of the most miserable of the poor with which the country abounded; and the capital, which she might have granted to hungry courtiers during her lifetime, she was exceedingly anxious should return to purposes of charity; and she seemed to think that, as she had not dissipated it in life, she had a right to direct its destination after death—a point that would admit of some controversy. The principal use to which she devoted this fund was so noble, that it seems grievous her will remained altogether a dead letter:—"And forasmuch," she says, "as there is no house or hospital specially ordained and provided for the relief and help of poor and old soldiers—namely, of such as have been hurt or maimed in the wars and service of this realm, the which we think both honour, conscience, and charity willeth should be provided for; and therefore, my mind and will is, that my executors shall, as shortly as they may after my decease, provide some convenient house within or nigh the suburbs of the city of London, the which house I would have founded and created, being governed with one master and two brethren; and I will, that this hospital be endowed with manors, lands, and possessions, to the value of 400 marks yearly." She recommended that good rules and ordinances should be made for this hospital by her executors, and "specially I would have them respect the relief, succour, and help of poor, impotent, and aged soldiers, chiefly those that be fallen into extreme poverty, and have no pension or other living." She devotes her jewels, and every kind of property, to the payment of her debts by privy seal, and the debts of her father and brother, which seem to have hung very heavily on her [illegible] devotes about £2000 in all to the re-founda[illegible]e convents of Sion, Shene, and the Observants—for works of charity and relief of the poor, and the support of the Savoy hospital.[1] There is not a penny bestowed on any devotional

[1] The whole will is edited by sir Frederick Madden, with his Privy Purse Expenses of Mary, from the Harleian MS. See Appendix, No. iv., p. clxxxv. The hospital of the Savoy, a useful institution, founded by Henry VII., and confiscated by Henry VIII., was re-founded by Mary, after her temporary recovery, in 1567—an action which seems

observance unconnected with active charity; neither image, lamp, nor pilgrimage are mentioned; and here the will is in coincidence with her privy purse expenses. One passage in it is extremely interesting, which is her desire to be united in death with her "dearly beloved and virtuous mother, queen Katharine:"—"And, further, I will," she says, "that the body of my most dear and well-beloved mother, of happy memory, queen Katharine, which lieth now buried at Peterborough, shall, within as short a time as conveniently it may after my burial, be removed, brought, and laid nigh the place of my sepulture; in which place I will my executors cause to be made honourable tombs for a decent memory of us." This, it is scarcely needful to say, was never done; and both mother and daughter repose without such honourable tombs.

She left to Philip, to keep for "a memory" of her, one jewel, "being a table diamond, which the emperor's majesty, his and my most honourable father, sent unto me by count d'Egmont at the insurance (betrothal) of my said lord and husband; also one other table diamond, which his majesty sent unto me by the marquis de los Naves, and the collar of gold set with nine diamonds, the which his majesty gave me the Epiphany after our marriage; also the ruby, now set in a gold ring, which his highness sent me by the count de Feria."

She very anxiously provided in her will for her state debts, raised for the support of the war, on her privy seals, bearing the enormous interest at from twelve to twenty per cent.[1] These would have been blended with the national d[illegible] modern times; but Mary, like other sovereigns of h[illegible] them wholly as her personal

greatly to be appreciated by our good churchman, Fuller, whose sayings, delectable in their quaintness, it is a pleasure to quote. "The hospital being left as bare of all conveniences as the poor creatures brought to it, the queen encouraged her maids of honour to supply it, who, out of their own wardrobes, furnished it with good bedding, &c. Were any of these ladies still alive, I would pray for them in the language of the psalmist—'The Lord make all their bed in their sickness,' and *he* is a good bed-maker indeed, who can and will make it fit the person and please the patient;" and very earnestly does Fuller urge that it is no superstition to commend their example.

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. iii.

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